

An abstract expressionist painting featuring several faces and figures. In the foreground, a large, pale face with dark, expressive eyes and a red mouth is shown in profile. To the right, a red, distorted face with a dark, circular eye is visible. In the background, a small, pale figure stands against a dark, swirling background. The overall style is characterized by bold, expressive brushstrokes and a rich, dark color palette with highlights of red and white.

German Expressionism

1915–1925

The Second Generation

German Expressionism 1915-1925
The Second Generation

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
October 9-December 31, 1988

Fort Worth Art Museum
February 2-April 9, 1989

Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf
May 18-July 9, 1989

Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle
August 9-September 30, 1989



German Expressionism

1915-1925

The Second Generation

Edited by
Stephanie Barron

With essays by
Stephanie Barron, Peter W. Guenther, Friedrich Heckmanns,
Fritz Löffler, Eberhard Roters, Stephan von Wiese

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Prestel

This book was published in conjunction with the exhibition "German Expressionism 1915-1925: The Second Generation" organized by Stephanie Barron, Curator of Twentieth-Century Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (October 9-December 31, 1988).

Also shown at: Fort Worth Art Museum, Texas (February 2-April 9, 1989), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Federal Republic of Germany (May 18-July 9, 1989), Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, German Democratic Republic (August 9-September 30, 1989).

This exhibition was made possible through the support of Mercedes-Benz. Additional assistance was received from the National Endowment for the Arts, an agency of the United States government, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Lufthansa German Airlines provided major support for the transportation. This exhibition is supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities.

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Texts by Friedrich Heckmanns, Fritz Löffler, Eberhard Roters, and Stephan von Wiese were translated by David Britt

Front cover: Walter Jacob, *Das jüngste Gericht* (The Last Judgment), 1920 (Cat. 110, detail)

Frontispiece: Conrad Felixmüller, *Der Tod des Dichters Walter Rheiner* (Death of the Poet Walter Rheiner), 1925 (Cat. 58)

The map "German Expressionism 1920" on pages 124/125 was designed by Astrid Fischer, Munich

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art,
5905 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90036

Published by PRESTEL-VERLAG,
Mandlstrasse 26, D-8000 Munich 40,
Federal Republic of Germany

Distributed in the USA and Canada by
The Neues Publishing Company, 15 East 76 Street, New York, NY 10021

Distributed in the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the rest of the world with
the exception of continental Europe, USA, Canada, and Japan by
Thames and Hudson Limited, 30-34 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QP, England

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available.
Library of Congress number: 88-13170

Typesetting by Fertigsatz GmbH, Munich, using
'Trump-Medieval' by D. Stempel & Co., Frankfurt am Main
Color separation by Brend'amour, Simhardt GmbH & Co., Munich
Printing and Binding by Passavia GmbH, Passau

Printed in the Federal Republic of Germany

ISBN 3-7913-0874-2 (hardcover trade edition)

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| | Several anonymous lenders |

Foreword

In the years immediately following World War I and the November Revolution of 1918, dozens of artists' groups sprang up throughout Germany. Though short-lived, these groups represent an important chapter in the history of modern German art, one that has often been omitted from survey exhibitions and books on the period. The title of our exhibition, *German Expressionism 1915-1925: The Second Generation* suggests that instead of ending with the war, the Expressionist period continued well into the 1920s with a vigorous second generation. The material contained here provides viewers and readers with the first comprehensive study of this explosion of artistic activity. Some of the groups, like the *Novembergruppe* or the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* in Berlin, are well documented in Germany but virtually unknown in America. Other groups in cities as diverse as Bielefeld, Darmstadt, Dresden, Düsseldorf, and Hanover may be unfamiliar today even to German audiences.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art is proud to present this ground-breaking exhibition of second-generation German Expressionism, which was organized by Stephanie Barron, curator of twentieth-century art. The exhibition and catalogue are the most recent in a series of projects that over the past decade have made the museum an important center for the study of German Expressionism.

In the course of preparing the exhibition, the museum and Ms. Barron have been fortunate in receiving excellent cooperation from museums and private collections in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the German Democratic Republic.

We are especially pleased that this is the first major international exhibition containing loans from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the German Democratic Republic that it will be seen in

each contributing country. After Los Angeles the exhibition travels to the Fort Worth Art Museum in Texas, the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg in Halle, German Democratic Republic.

The lenders to the exhibition, who are listed separately in this publication, agreed to part with their works for a full year. They have our sincere thanks. Without them it would not have been possible to mount this exhibition.

Support for the project was received through grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and from cultural authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany. In addition, a generous contribution from Mercedes-Benz helped to make this important project a reality; I am extremely grateful to Timotheus Pohl, president, Daimler-Benz of North America Holding Company, and Dr. Edzard Reuter, chairman of the board, Daimler-Benz Corporation, for their enthusiasm. The Goethe Institute provided additional funding for educational programs to accompany the exhibition. Lufthansa German Airlines provided major support with the transportation of the objects. Without this assistance an exhibition and publication of this magnitude would have been impossible to realize.

On behalf of the directors of the museums participating with us in this exhibition, E. A. Carmean, Jr., of the Fort Worth Art Museum, Dr. Hans Albert Peters of the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, and Dr. Peter Romanus of the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, I thank our staffs and supporters who have contributed to bringing this project to fruition.

Earl A. Powell III

Director

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

During the three years of preparation for this exhibition I have been fortunate to receive encouragement and cooperation from museum colleagues in the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and the United States. The sixty public and private lenders from whom we requested loans have been extremely cooperative and generous; their continued interest in the project is very gratifying. I would like to express sincere thanks to Marvin and Janet Fishman, Sigi and Gesche Poppe, and Robert Gore Rifkind for their generosity in parting with many works from their collections for a full year.

In particular, I would like to thank the Federal Republic of Germany for the timely and much-needed grant in support of the exhibition. The advice and encouragement of Prof. Dr. Wolf-Dieter Dube, director-general of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (West); Prof. Dr. Klaus Gallwitz, director of the Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main; and Ambassador Günther Jötze, former Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany in Los Angeles was important in securing this cooperation.

In conjunction with the showing of the exhibition at the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, I enjoyed discussions and collaboration with curators Dr. Stephan von Wiese and Dr. Friedrich Heckmanns.

In the German Democratic Republic the Ministerium für Kultur, Berlin, responded with enthusiasm to my initial request for loans and the idea of the exhibition's traveling to their country. The director of the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg in Halle, Dr. Peter Romanus, and his assistant Hans-Georg Sehr, were most helpful in our two years of planning.

Peter Guenther, Eberhard Roters, and Fritz Löffler as well as Friedrich Heckmanns and Stephan von Wiese have my sincere thanks for taking time to add significantly to this volume and for advising me on loans. It is with sadness that we learned of the passing of Fritz Löffler in the late spring of this year. His untiring efforts on behalf of many of the artists comprising the second generation of German Expressionism as well as his numerous publications have been an inspiration.

The Board of Trustees and the director of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Earl A. Powell III, have been supportive of this project since its inception.

During the three years of travel, research, and preparation, I have benefited from the advice and cooperation of many scholars, collectors, and colleagues. Dieter Schmidt, formerly of Dresden and now living in the Federal Republic of Germany, was extremely generous with his knowledge of this period. In the Federal Republic of Germany, I am grateful to Gisela-Ingeborg Boldau, Dr. Peter Lackner, Dr. Mario Andreas von Lüttichau, Dr. Jörn Merkert, Mr. and Mrs. Klaus Osterhof, Berlin; Wulf Herzogenrath, Dr. Evelyn Weiss, Cologne; Weiland Koenig, Düsseldorf; Hans Barlach, Titus Felixmüller, Petra Kipphoff, Dr. Hans Leppien, Prof. Dr. Gerhard Wietek, Hamburg; Dr. Werner Timm, Regensburg; Prof. Dr. Heinz Spielman, Schleswig; Prof. Dr. Gunther Thiem, and Dr. Karin von Maur, Stuttgart. In the German Democratic Republic I received assistance from Jutta Penndorf, Altenberg; Annegret Janda, Roland März, Berlin; Dr. Annaliese Meyer Meintschal, Dr. Joachim Menzhausen, Dr. Martin Raumschlüssel, Dr. Werner Schmidt, Dr. Horst Zimmermann, Dresden; Dieter Gleisberg, Leipzig. Werner Wolf in the Ministerium für Kultur of the German Democratic Republic has been most cooperative. In the United States Prof. Herschel Chipp, Berkeley; Dr. Peter Nisbet, Cambridge; Riva Castleman, New York; and Dr. Ida Katherine Rigby, San Diego have all been helpful. In Washington, D.C., Dr. Eleonore Lindsmeier, Cultural Counselor of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Wolfram Bauer and Dr. Peter Vincenz of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic have been enthusiastic in their support of this exhibition. In Los Angeles, Consul General Leopold Siefker and Klaus Ruprecht, deputy consul of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Reinhard Dinklemeyer, director of the Goethe Institute, have all taken a personal interest in the project.

In the museum I have been fortunate to work with colleagues who have responded with enthusiasm and imagination during the course of planning this exhibition and catalogue. To my colleagues in the Department of Twentieth-Century Art, who were supportive and encouraging during the several years of planning this exhibition I owe my sincerest thanks. Research assistant Leslie Rubin has monitored carefully many of the myriad details connected with the loans and photographs for the catalogue. Curatorial secretary Eric Pals, who joined the department in the fall of 1987, helped the catalogue

through its final stages and meticulously kept track of information for the catalogue checklist. He assumed these responsibilities from former secretary Lynn Yazouri. Associate Curator Carol Eliel contributed the artists' biographies, which in many cases represent the only information available in English, and worked with me on the installation of the exhibition in Los Angeles. Translation assistance was provided by Museum Service Council volunteer Grete Wolf, Ernestine Kahn, Jonathan Pitts, and Christoph Zuschlag. The staff of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, Dr. Timothy O. Benson, Vicki Gambill, Susan Trauger, and Christine Vigiletti helped to make the center's rich resources available.

Elizabeth Algermissen, chief, Exhibition Division, and John Passi, head, Exhibition Programs, were helpful in arranging the travel of the exhibition to Ft. Worth, Dusseldorf, and Halle. Registrar Renee Montgomery and Assistant Registrar Lisa Kalem carefully worked out the logistics of the first major loan exhibition to borrow works of art from United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the German Democratic Republic which then traveled to all three countries. Conservator Joe Fronek made two preliminary visits to Halle in order to secure the careful transit of the loans from the German Democratic Republic.

The editing of the catalogue was coordinated with attention to detail by Mitch Tuchman, managing editor.

Museum photographer Peter Brenner was responsible for taking hundreds of photographs for the catalogue and for contributing to the quality of this volume. In the Education Department William Lillys and Lisa Vihos responded imaginatively to the task of interpreting the material in the exhibition for museum visitors. I worked with designer Brent Saville on the installation, which was executed under the able management of Arthur Owens under the direction of Dr. James Peoples, assistant director for operations.

Funds for the exhibition and catalogue were secured from a variety of sources both here and abroad. I was fortunate to be able to work with Julie Johnston and Jane Irwin of our Development Department in this regard. Pamela Jenkinson, press officer, and Sheila Prendiville, assistant press officer, responded with excitement to the challenge of publicizing the exhibition in the American and the foreign press.

In preparing this catalogue, I received excellent cooperation from our publishers Prestel Verlag in Munich. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations were done by David Britt.

Finally I wish to thank the National Endowment for the Arts and the museum for supporting my sabbatical, which enabled me to travel in Germany for several months in 1987 and to spend the necessary time to delve further into the stimulating area of German Expressionist studies.

Stephanie Barron

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Fig. 1 Conrad Felixmüller, *Otto Dix malt* (Otto Dix Painting), 1920 (Cat. 50)

Introduction

The notion that all the significant achievements of German Expressionism occurred before 1914 is a familiar one. Until recently most scholars and almost all exhibitions of German Expressionist work have drawn the line with the 1913 dissolution of *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) in Berlin or the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Peter Selz's pioneering study *German Expressionist Painting*, published in 1957, favored 1914 as a terminus as did Wolf-Dieter Dube's *Expressionism*, which appeared in 1977.

It is true that by 1914 personal differences had led the *Brücke* artists to dissolve their association, and *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider) had disintegrated when Wassily Kandinsky returned from Munich to Russia and Franz Marc volunteered for war service. Other artists' associations also broke up when their members were drafted. Thus, the outbreak of the war has provided a convenient endpoint for many historians, who see the postwar artistic activities of Ernst Barlach, Max Beckmann, Oskar Kokoschka, Käthe Kollwitz, and others as individual, not group responses and describe the 1920s as the period of developments at the Bauhaus in Weimar or of the growing popularity of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity). The years 1915-25 have been lost, or certainly not adequately defined, as a coherent and potent, albeit brief, idealistic period in the evolution of German Expressionism.

More recent scholarship, including Dube's *Expressionists and Expressionism* (1983) and Donald E. Gordon's *Expressionism: Art and Idea* (1987), sees the movement as surviving into the 1920s. Gordon maintains that a second generation of Expressionist literature has been recognized for years now, while similar recognition has not been accorded to the visual arts. He dates the visual side of German Expressionism along with the literary side from 1905 to about 1923.¹

This exhibition and its catalogue examine the intense artistic activity that emerged throughout Germany after the First World War, particularly in the wake of the 1918 November Revolution. This activity was not confined to one or two cities. Rather, it spread from the early centers, such as Berlin and Dresden, to Barmen, Bielefeld, Cologne, Darmstadt, Düsseldorf, Halle, Hamburg, Hanover, Karlsruhe, Kiel, Magdeburg, and Munich. We shall attempt to reveal the interconnections among the short-lived groups of radical artists

(some of which also had common members), examine contributions to art journals, and document the interest of the few museum directors, dealers, and critics who championed their work. These artists were for the most part outspoken political activists who sought in their work and in their associations to create a "new man" and a new society that would replace the one with which they had become so disillusioned.

In German Expressionist art there is a recognizable difference between works created before the war and those created in the postwar period. The artists included in the present exhibition were for the most part ten years or so younger than the pioneer German Expressionists; most were in their late teens or early twenties when the war broke out. Not only did many of them have life-changing wartime experiences, but they came to maturity in a Germany considered a pariah among the nations of Western Europe. Compared with the work of the first generation, the art of the second generation places more emphasis on content and addresses social and political issues with greater frequency. The artists were to discover however that an artistic revolution was not necessarily compatible with a political revolution.

The concept of second-generation Expressionism implies a first generation: the artists of *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter*, who emerged in Germany between 1905 and 1913. The first group to manifest itself in the history of German Expressionism was *Die Brücke*, organized by the young student of architecture Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and his associates Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, who were also studying architecture in Dresden. They were soon joined by Cuno Amiet, Axel Gallen, Emil Nolde, and Max Pechstein. In Dresden, and after 1911 in Berlin, they lived, worked, and exhibited together until the breakup of the group in 1913. Their manifesto of 1906 proclaimed their passion for art and a burning desire to free themselves from the constraints of social convention; they sought to establish a "bridge" to the future. They were stimulated by the art of Africa and Oceania, which they saw in abundance at Dresden's Ethnographic Museum, and by the art of Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, and Edvard Munch, which could be seen in various gallery exhibitions. Many of their most daring experiments were in printmaking, especially the woodcut, which they re-

vived after several centuries of unpopularity among artists. The second group, *Der Blaue Reiter*, was founded in Munich by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, whose work was evolving toward nonobjectivity. Their 1912 publication, the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*, was one of the most important books of modern art. This anthology included articles on art, music, and theater and was illustrated with photos of contemporary, Renaissance, and non-Western images. The second generation of German Expressionists took for granted the break with traditional art that had already been achieved in Dresden, Berlin, and Munich, and they drew inspiration from these examples. They knew that their work would hardly find favor with the staid academic establishment or the bourgeois art public.

The second generation suffered from war-induced disillusionment and were dissatisfied with postwar German society; they joined in with the cry for a new, classless society. They saw the war as a liberating force that had purged the old era and set the stage for a new one in which artists would be prophets. Writer Friedrich Burschell remembered that in 1919 "for... friends and myself and for millions of front-line soldiers the abdication of the German royal family and of the existing power structure meant not only the end of the senseless, murderous war, not merely salvation and liberation, but far, far more. It meant new hope, the assurance even that out of the chaos a new and better world would arise."² Berlin poet Kinner von Dressler epitomized the mood in

1919: "The war./End of a violent, lying, material epoch./Decay of the transitory body./Rising of the soul."³

In Germany the November Revolution, just one year after its Russian counterpart, was brought about by much the same disillusionment and unrest. Although not nearly as violent or as lengthy as the Bolshevik revolution, it bore similar fruit in the art world. Knowledge of artistic events in Russia reached Germany through a report in *Das Kunstblatt* (The Art Paper) in March 1919.⁴ During the next years various artists' groups throughout Germany committed themselves to radical change and to the emergence of a new society. A number of interesting comparisons can be made between German and Russian art of this period. In both countries there was a widespread surge of avant-garde artistic activity, seen by the artists as a panacea for the social problems all around them. In Russia between 1917 and 1921 the artists were in alliance with Lenin's government. Anatoly Lunarcharsky, the new Soviet Minister for Enlightenment, used his office to support an astonishing array of avant-garde activities: theatrical performances, the establishment of museums of modern art, and the design and erection of monuments. Artists, architects, writers, poets, and critics joined hands in the quest for a new society. Brief alliances were formed among artists, dramatists, and politicians. This heady artistic euphoria came to a halt in the mid-1920s. Ultimately both the Russian avant-garde and the German Expressionists were overpowered by totalitarian systems that attempted to wipe out all vestiges of their accomplishments.

German artists had not all been opposed to the war from the beginning; their changing attitude toward war can be traced by studying some of the periodicals of the time: *Kriegszeit* (Wartime), *Der Bildermann* (The Picture Man), and *Die Aktion* (Action).⁵ Articles and illustrations show how their initial enthusiasm gave way to a growing pessimism.

Kriegszeit was published between 1914 and 1916 by Paul Cassirer. Together with his artist friends, he supported the war as a purifying nationalist and anticapitalist force. Ernst Barlach contributed his famous lithograph *Der heilige Krieg* (The Holy War) to a 1914 issue: it shows a German patriot surging forward larger than life, an invincible warrior ready for battle. As casualties began to mount, enthusiasm for the war waned, and the magazine ceased publication. A month later Cassirer launched *Der Bildermann*. Eighteen issues appeared from 1916 to 1918, and they provide evidence of changes in the artists' attitudes. Their lithographs and poetry draw attention to the plight of homeless children and other consequences of war. Horror and disillusionment had set in. Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion* had appeared weekly since 1911. Like its publisher (Fig. 2) the journal was highly political. It reflected the changing views of

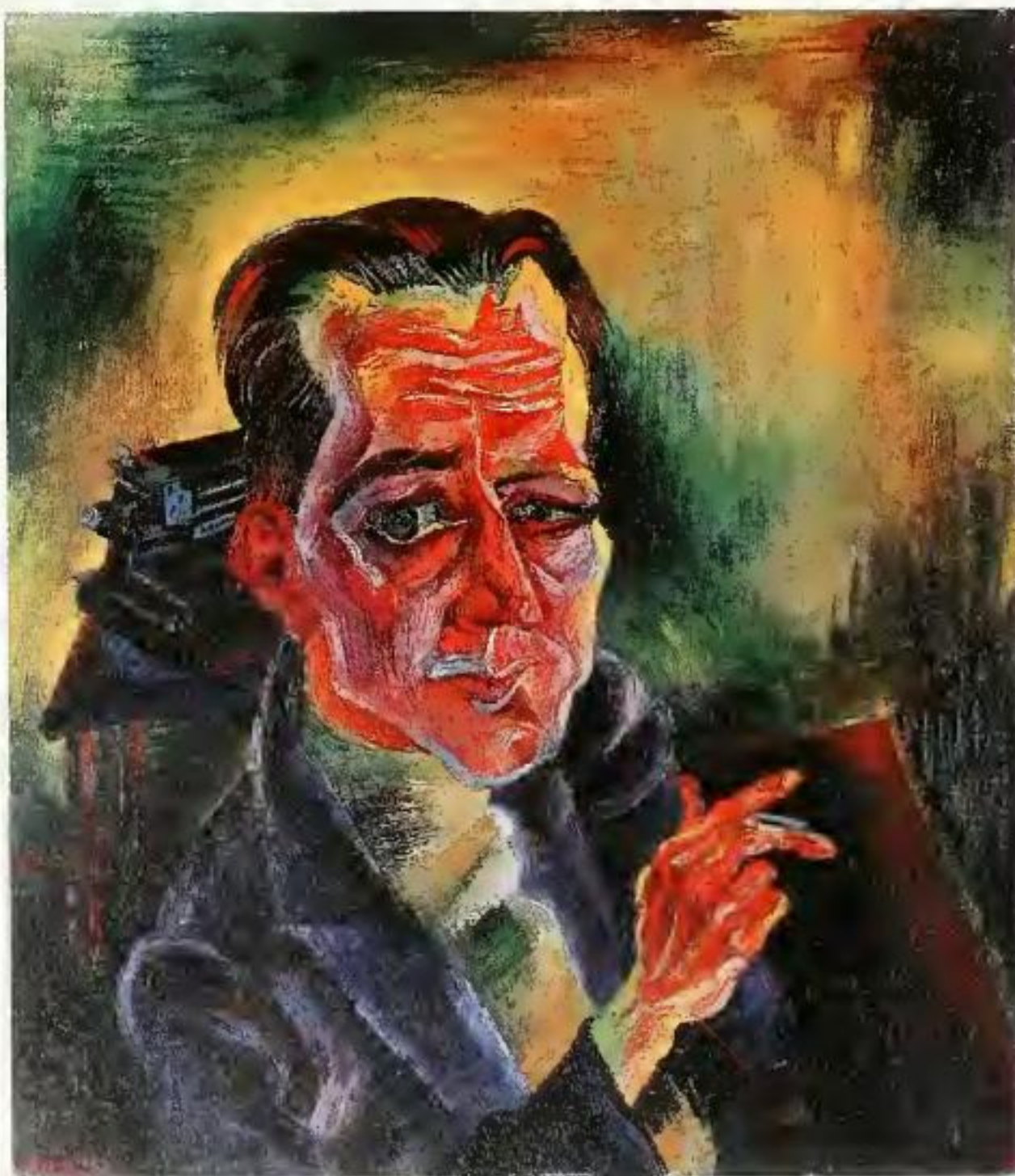


Fig. 2 Conrad Felixmüller, *Bildnis Franz Pfemfert* (Portrait of Franz Pfemfert), 1923 (Cat. 55)



Fig. 3 William Wauer, *Herwarth Walden*, 1917, cast after 1945 (Cat. 197)

many of the second-generation Expressionists, who began to protest against what was happening in their country and agitate for government action and reform. By 1918 *Die Aktion* had become the major outlet for their political beliefs, and they contributed to it regularly. Along with poets, playwrights, and critics, most of the major Expressionist artists – Conrad Felixmüller, George Grosz, Kirchner, Kokoschka, Marc, Ludwig Meidner, Egon Schiele, Schmidt-Rottluff – were featured.

The artists of the second generation shared with the founding generation their sympathy for the poor (whose numbers grew following the famine of 1916) and their attraction to the pulsating urban landscape as typified by Berlin. But it was the second generation who seemed filled with hope for a utopian society in which art would play an important role. The groups they formed were not dissimilar to *Die Brücke* or *Der Blaue Reiter*, but instead of manifestos that spoke only of a break with the past, they spoke of revolution. Compare, for instance, Kirchner's words in the *Brücke* manifesto of 1906 with those of the *Novembergruppe* (November Group) manifesto after the war. Kirchner wrote: "Putting our faith in a new generation of creators and art lovers, we call upon all youth to unite. We who possess the future shall create for ourselves physical and spiritual freedom opposed to the values of the comfortably established older generation. Anyone who honestly

and directly reproduces the creative forces within him is one of us."⁶

By contrast, the *Novembergruppe* manifesto (1918) declares:

We stand on the fertile soil of the revolution. Our slogan is: Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity! We are uniting because we have human and artistic convictions in common.

We believe that our first duty is to dedicate all our energies to the moral regeneration of a young and free Germany....

We believe it is our special duty to gather together all significant artistic talent and dedicate it to the collective well-being of the nation.... We feel young, free, and pure.⁷

Herwarth Walden (Fig. 3) was one of the most important influences on the German art scene during the 1910s and 1920s. It was he who introduced much of the European avant-garde to the German artists. His *Galerie Der Sturm* mounted shows of Futurism and Cubism, and showed work of the Russian avant-garde. His journal *Der Sturm* (The Storm), published weekly from 1912 until 1929 and intermittently until 1932, contained influential articles on art and theater and critical essays by and about European artists, as well as providing the opportunity for many of the artists to contribute original graphics.

Berlin

Berlin, home of both the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' Council for Art) and the *Novembergruppe*, and Dresden, home of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* (Dresden Secession Group 1919), were the most fertile centers of postwar art activity. Elsewhere in the catalogue Eberhard Roters writes about developments in Berlin after the war, while Fritz Löffler discusses the Dresden Secession, presenting much information not previously available.

The *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, the first postwar artists' group in Germany to issue a call to all artists to unite, was a highly structured association. It held regular meetings, circulated minutes, issued manifestos, and organized exhibitions, and its members contributed to periodicals. Inspired by the Russian soviets, or councils, the *Arbeitsrat* was under the leadership of the architects Adolf Behne, Walter Gropius, and Bruno Taut. The group included publishers, critics, dealers, collectors, and art historians among its members, many of whom were socialists. Several members – Heckel, Otto Mueller, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff – had been members of *Die Brücke*.

In their first proclamation of artistic principles, the *Arbeitsrat* made six demands, the first four of which were directed against existing Wilhelmine art organizations. They urged the dissolution of the royal academies, the Prussian Provincial Art Commission, and the state museums. They demanded an end to state spon-



Fig. 4 Erich Mendelsohn, *Einstein Turm* (Einstein Tower), 1919

sorship of exhibitions. They rejected current city-planning policies. They inveighed against monuments of no artistic merit in general, and against war monuments in particular. They called for the government to ensure that art would have a future in the new republic.

The *Arbeitsrat* distributed a questionnaire to 114 painters, sculptors, architects, critics, and art historians; the responses were widely publicized in 1919 in *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrats für Kunst in Berlin* (Yes! Voices of the Workers' Council for Art in Berlin). The questionnaire included queries about the relationship between the artist and the public and addressed reform in the teaching of art, state support for artists, and the potential influence of artists on urban design, architecture, and public housing. Many of the twenty-eight whose written responses were published found the traditional academies stultifying and urged the establishment of an environment that would encourage greater spontaneity. They wanted teachers to encourage children's expressive tendencies rather than "correct" formal achievements. For many, answering this questionnaire was their most political act of the revolutionary era.

The first presentation of the *Arbeitsrat* was the *Ausstellung für unbekannte Architekten* (Exhibition for Unknown Architects), which called for architecture to be the unifier of all the arts, destroying barriers between conventionally defined disciplines. Ultimately, these practices were put into effect most systematically at the Bauhaus school in Weimar.

A direct outgrowth of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* was the association of architects formed by Paul Gösch, Wenzel Hablik, Wassili and Hans Luckhardt, Hans Scharoun, and Bruno and Max Taut, and known as *Die Gläserne Kette* (The Glass Chain). Due to the poor economic situation and the severe shortage of building materials, these architects were not receiving commis-

sions. They were the most frustrated of the Expressionists as they were unable to build their buildings. Instead, they produced a series of sketches and drawings for utopian buildings, largely based on the symbol of the crystal, which they saw as the representation of innocence: for them an ideal building would have been constructed entirely of glass. Bruno Taut urged his associates to be imaginative architects; he hoped that a new architecture would emerge, born of a spiritual revolution. This never happened: very few buildings actually survive from the Expressionist period. The Einstein Tower (Fig. 4) by Erich Mendelsohn (1919) was one of the most impressive Expressionist buildings actually constructed.

The *Novembergruppe* was founded by César Klein, Moriz Melzer, Pechstein, Heinrich Richter-Berlin, and Georg Tappert, Pechstein and Tappert being members of the first generation. Its emphasis was on the pictorial arts rather than architecture. Calling upon all Cubists, Futurists, and Expressionists, the *Novembergruppe* encouraged writers, poets, painters, architects, and composers to join. They sponsored several exhibitions and spread their ideas through catalogues and such periodicals as *Der Kunsttopf* (The Artpot), *Novembergruppe* (Fig. 5), and *Die Schöne Rarität* (The Beautiful Rarity). Initially the *Novembergruppe* supported official policy by creating posters for the Publicity Office of the *Rat der Volksbeauftragten* (Council of People's Delegates), as the new coalition government of Social Democrats and Independents called itself. Their strident graphics urged a return to work and public order and the convening of a national assembly to realize the aims of the revolution.⁸ Some posters warned against strikes, others exhorted voters to go to the polls.



Fig. 5 Moriz Melzer, *Entwurf Novembergruppe* (Design for the November Group), c. 1919



Fig. 6 Max Pechstein, *An alle Künstler!* (To All Artists!), 1919 (Cat. 160)

In 1919 the pamphlet *An alle Künstler!* (To All Artists!; Fig. 6) was published by the *Novembergruppe*. Pechstein's cover lithograph depicts a man clutching his heart; behind him lies a city engulfed in flames, from which the new society is to arise. The pamphlet was a compilation of statements, poems, and prints by fourteen artists, including Lyonel Feininger, Klein, Meidner, and Tappert: Pechstein's article "Was Wir Wollen" (What We Want) was the central piece: "The revolution has given us the freedom to express and to realize wishes we have had for years. Our sense of duty tells us that work for us alone must be done by us alone. We demand this and we do this without ulterior motives, keeping our eyes only upon the ideal goal: the realization of our historic destiny to attain global awareness."⁹ Pechstein argues against an academic attitude and maintains that the artists want to educate the populace to increase their sense of public-spiritedness. His article ends with the claim that a socialist republic might provide the answer to the ills of society:

We hope that a socialist republic not only will make the situation in the art world healthy but will create a unified art epoch for our generation. The beginning of a new unity of people and art will be heralded on the basis of craft, with each artist working in his own fashion. Art will no longer be considered, as it has been in the past, an interesting and genteel occupation for the sons of wealthy loafers. On the contrary, the sons of common people must be given the opportunity, through the crafts, to become artists. Art is no game, but a duty to the people! It is a matter of public concern.¹⁰

Meidner, whose involvement with the second generation is discussed in Roter's essay, contributed a passionate plea "To All Artists, Poets, and Musicians." He writes: "We must decide in favor of socialism: for a universal and unceasing socialization of the means of production, which will give every man and woman work, leisure time, bread, a home, and the presentiment of a higher goal."¹¹ Meidner hoped the revolution would radically alter the economics of the art world, a hope

shared by many of his fellow artists. He also urged that artists become involved in politics.

The failure of the *Novembergruppe* to attain its revolutionary goals became so obvious that a splinter group was formed by the artists Otto Dix, Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, Rudolf Schlichter, Georg Scholz, and others, many of whom were also interested in Dadaism. They exhorted the *Novembergruppe* to remember the ideals with which it had begun and urged a recommitment to the proletarian revolution.

Although Grosz was a member of the *Novembergruppe* for a short time, the majority of his searing commentaries on Weimar society and its rampant corruption were created outside the group framework. Like Dix, Grosz had enlisted for military service despite his marked antiwar sentiments. His experiences soon reconfirmed his horror of combat, and following an honorable discharge in 1915 he began chronicling his abhorrence of Berlin society. His vocabulary of chaotic scenes of crime and passion, of obscene officers, injured soldiers, and leering prostitutes in dark streets was increased and sharpened by his observations during the war and afterwards. He created a veritable cascade of paintings, prints, portfolios, illustrated books, and illustrations for radical periodicals, such as *Die Aktion*. A painting like *Selbstmord* (Suicide; Fig. 7) probably reflects the artist's state of mind following his release from the army.



Fig. 7 George Grosz, *Selbstmord* (Suicide), 1916 (Cat. 84)



Fig. 8 George Grosz, *Metropolis*, 1916-17 (Cat. 85)



Fig. 9 George Grosz, *Explosion*, 1917 (Cat. 86)

An urban landscape like *Metropolis* (Fig. 8) or *Explosion* (Fig. 9) almost seems to explode before the viewer's eyes: the city becomes a teeming inferno with leering figures rushing wildly from place to place. Bathed in a red light, Grosz's Berlin is the epitome of the "big city landscape" of second-generation Expressionism. *Metropolis* exemplifies the anarchy of postwar Germany. The scene is Friedrichstrasse, site of the Central Hotel, which Grosz had already depicted in lithographs: beggars, prostitutes, cigar-chomping profiteers, cripples, and convicts intimately glimpsed create a maelstrom of misery and depravity. This dynamism of the city owes much to the rhythms of Italian Futurism.

Dresden

After Berlin, the city most closely associated with second-generation Expressionism is Dresden, the birthplace of Expressionism. After the war a lively art scene revolved around the academy, Galerie Arnold, and Galerie Emil Richter. Fritz Löffler has noted that this second phase dates back to two exhibitions at the Galerie Arnold: the van Gogh show in 1912 and the

presentation of artists from Galerie Der Sturm in 1913.¹² Dix and Felixmüller became the pivotal figures; they were joined in 1916 by Kokoschka, who moved to Dresden to teach at the academy. Kokoschka, however, had the status of a guest while he was in Dresden and never had the impact of either Dix or Felixmüller.

In 1916, under the leadership of the twenty-year-old Conrad Felixmüller, a group of young Expressionist artists banded together to exhibit at the Galerie Arnold, which had been the venue of the early *Brücke* exhibitions. A year earlier Felixmüller had traveled to Berlin, where through Meidner he had met the leading writers of the day: Johannes Becher, Wieland Herzfeldt, Alfred Wolfenstein, and Willi Zierath. In his memoirs, Felixmüller writes: "Through this circle, and above all through Raoul Hausmann, I came to Franz Pfemfert – it was an antimaterialistic group, revolutionary not for the sake of aesthetic questions but in a social and political sense."¹³ Felixmüller returned to Dresden and there worked with writer-architect Hugo Zehder to organize their fellow artists into a group that would be political like the *Novembergruppe* and the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* in Berlin. The original *Dresdner Künstlerschaft* (Dresden Council of Artists) represented a broad spectrum of



Fig. 10 Conrad Felixmüller, Cover of *Menschen* (Mankind), 1917

the Dresden artistic world. Shortly thereafter the more radical artists broke away and again under Felixmüller's leadership founded the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe* 1919. The membership and activities of the group are discussed fully by Löffler, who was associated with the art scene in Dresden for more than fifty years. What emerges is a picture of intense activity, particularly in the years 1919-21, led primarily by Dix and Felixmüller, both of whom convinced many others to join with them (Fig. 1). The attitude of the young artists is expressed by the poet Walter Rheiner in his introduction to the catalogue of an exhibition the new group staged at the Galerie Emil Richter in 1919: "The painters who now make their entrance are young. Heralds of a new world. They are the hunted, tormented, blissful, dithyrambic prophets of the Wonder of Wonders.... They call out to you.... Don't look for what your eye, your all-too-weary eye expects to see.... That world of yours is falling apart! Can't you see?... Turn from your blindness! School the eye! School the spirit! You are human and this is about you."¹⁴

In 1919 Behne insisted in an important essay on the revolutionary nature of Expressionism, notwithstanding that it was being increasingly accepted by the bourgeoisie. While the art of the Secession members covered the spectrum from Expressionist through Futurist to Dada, the underlying element was the struggle for an art that would contain within it the power of the newly awakened postwar spirit. Yet, unlike the two groups in Berlin, the Secession was not as precisely defined in its aim or as programmatic in its activities. The radical periodical *Menschen* (Mankind; Fig. 10), published by Heinar Schilling and Felix Stierner, featured prints and poems by members; it also contained some important writings by leaders of the group, including the article by Behne. Felixmüller's image of the "new man" first appeared as the logo of the periodical, founded partly as an alternative to *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion*. Its policy was one of idealism, and the periodical supported art, literature, graphics, music, and criticism. The first comprehensive essay on the new Dresden group was written by Will Grohmann in 1919 and appeared in the Dresden periodical *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* (New Journal of Art and Poetry), which was sponsored by the Galerie Emil Richter. Grohmann's essay was intended to draw attention to the new group – to introduce its members – and not to stress its planned reforms or revolutionary aims.

Certainly the best-known member of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe* 1919 was Otto Dix (Fig. 1). Although he joined at Felixmüller's urging, he did not share the latter's commitment to radical politics. Known today primarily for his *Neue Sachlichkeit* work from the years after 1925, Dix created a significant group of paintings, drawings, and prints during the years 1915-25. These early years were of extreme importance in his coming to

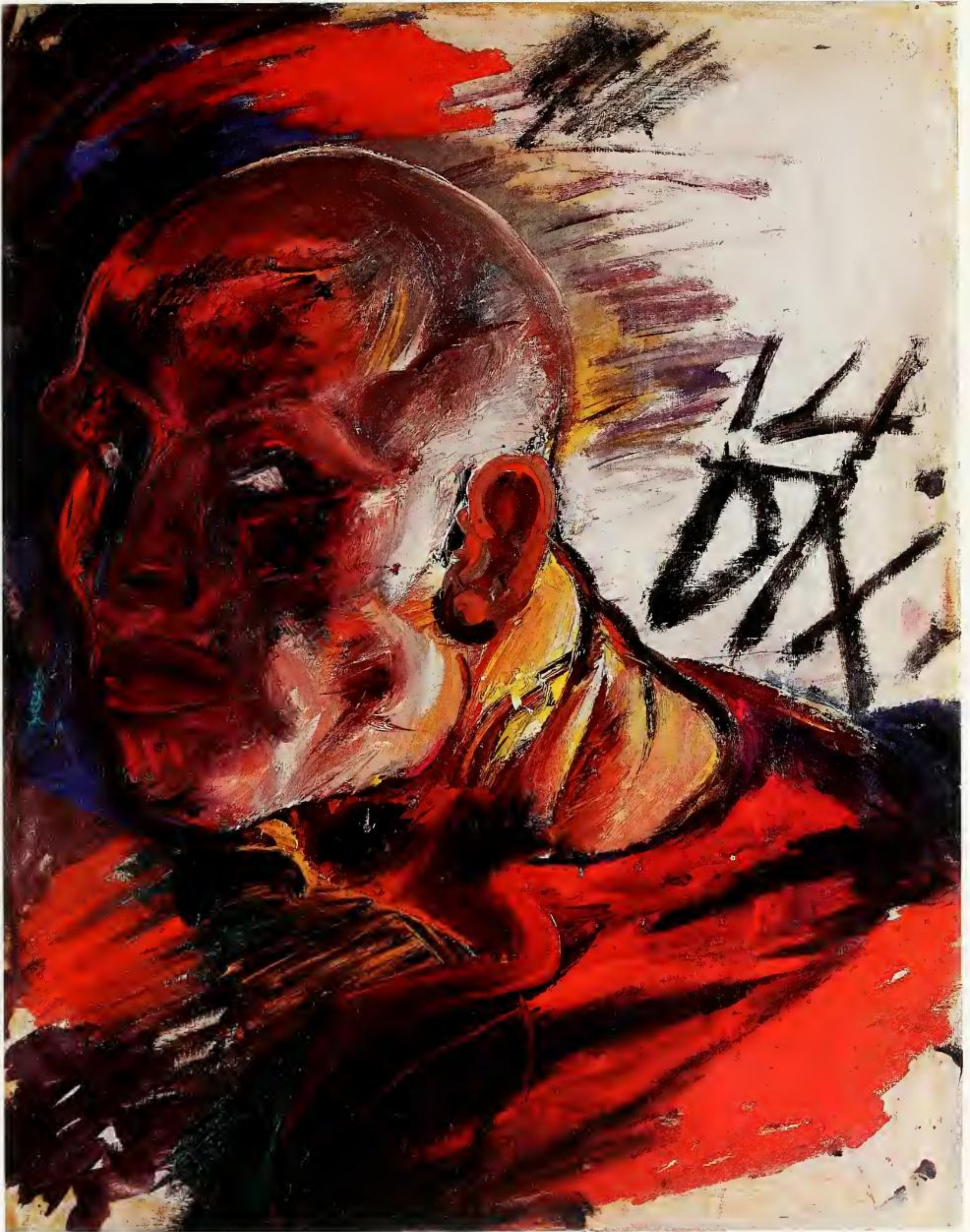


Fig. 11 Otto Dix, *Selbstbildnis als Soldat* (Self-Portrait as Soldier), 1914 (Cat. 21)



Fig. 12 Otto Dix, *Abendsonne (Ypern) (Setting Sun [Ypres])*, 1918 (Cat. 24)

terms with his traumatic wartime experiences. Like many other German artists, Dix had at first had a positive approach to the war, believing that the upheaval would sweep away the old order and usher in a new age (Fig. 11). Like Beckmann and Grosz he voluntarily enlisted in 1914, subsequently serving at the front in Russia and France. These experiences are the basis for several hundred drawings he executed on the battlefields (Fig. 12) and for much of his work in the subsequent decades. On his return from the front, he began to depict his experiences in a new style, a fusion of Futurism and Expressionism, deploying powerful colors with bold strokes. But it was not until 1924 that he created his antiwar epic *Der Krieg* (War), a portfolio of fifty unforgettable etchings and aquatints. With needle and acid he literally corroded the surface of the plate and conveyed both the physical and the moral destruction that he had witnessed. *Der Krieg* stands today as one of the monuments to the horrors of modern war.

Felixmüller left Dresden after joining the Communist party in 1919. In 1920 rather than use his recently won Saxon State Prize for its intended purpose, travel to Rome, he visited the Ruhr District and studied the life of the coal miners (Fig. 13). Shocked by the high unemployment he saw there, and feeling that he could contribute something worthwhile by making the miners' plight known, Felixmüller executed several powerful paintings, drawings, and woodcuts in the early 1920s (Fig. 14). "To do this," he writes, "to show the toiling proletariat, I was reduced to the simplest forms, to reproducing simple, organic things that could be comprehended in their natural, their human and their social context. . . . The violence of the situation permitted the forceful character of the woodcut."¹⁵ These images were

hailed as among the best work of the period. In one of the earliest monographic articles on Felixmüller the playwright Carl Sternheim wrote in *Der Cicerone*: "This Müller . . . peeled the mask from the faces of his contemporaries . . . and in his paintings there appeared for the first time the proletariat, hitherto passed over in silence."¹⁶ Felixmüller continued to draw on his Ruhr experiences for his illustrations for *Die Aktion*. But by the mid-twenties, he had turned his back on Expressionism, and until his death in 1977 he created sweet, intimate portraits and landscapes.

Other Artists' Groups

After political differences among its members led to the dissolution of the Dresden Secession in 1925, several artists joined groups in Dusseldorf, Berlin, or Darmstadt.

Dix had established connections in Dusseldorf while visiting Felixmüller, then painting in the Ruhr. Felixmüller urged Dix to move to Dusseldorf and to continue his studies at the academy under Heinrich Nauen. In 1922 Dix received an invitation from the art dealer Johanna Ey which made possible his move from Dresden. "Mother Ey" ran a bohemian artists' club, through which she financially supported her artists, encouraged them to meet each other, and sold their paintings. Her



Fig. 13 Conrad Felixmüller, *Ruhrrevier (The Ruhr District)*, 1920 (Cat. 51)



Fig. 14 Conrad Felixmüller, *Arbeiter auf dem Heimweg* (Workers on the Way Home), 1921 (Cat. 52)

activities and the circle of artists in Dusseldorf known as *Das Junge Rheinland* (The Young Rhineland) are discussed fully in the essay by Friedrich Heckmanns.

In another essay, Peter Guenther discusses many of the smaller artists' groups that were active in other German cities, including Berlin, Bielefeld, Darmstadt, Hamburg, and Munich. Much of this material is published here for the first time, and it shows us just how widespread the reactions to the war were. Whether galvanized by artists, architects, writers, dealers, or museum directors, each of these groups proclaimed in lofty terms that the world after the war had to be a

different and a better place to live in, a place in which the arts would play a more significant role. What each of the groups found out, some more quickly than others, was that this idealism did not in fact bear up under the pressures of exhibitions, publications, and gatherings composed of such a diversity of artists.

The War

The war, whether experienced firsthand or not, inspired at least five graphic portfolios, each on a different aspect

of the conflict but all using the printed medium and the multiple images of the portfolio to convey a potent message. Dix's *Der Krieg* (Fig. 15; Figs. 17-18, p. 92), executed in 1924, represents an attitude different from that of his drawings done at the front in 1915-16. Appalled by the renewed jingoist sentiments spreading throughout Weimar Germany, Dix offered his sobering, searing, and penetrating images, which stand as one of the most convincing antiwar statements, not unlike Goya's *Los Desastres*, to which they have often been compared. Dix spares no detail in conveying the unrelenting physical nature of war. Images of mutilated bodies, decaying limbs, and men weighed down with equipment describe the combat; fleshy prostitutes pursued by sex-starved soldiers show another side of war; and bombed landscapes, moonlit minefields, and barren night scenes complete a cycle of images of the ravages of war. A second graphic cycle, *Krieg* (War) by Kollwitz

(Fig. 16), also done in the 1920s, consists of seven stark woodcuts. Inspired by the death of her youngest son Peter at the beginning of the war, she conveys in each print the pain and sense of loss felt by those at home: widows, mourning parents, mothers protecting their children from conscription or offering them forth; these are also the victims of war. A third portfolio is Pechstein's *Somme 1916* published in 1919. Pechstein enlisted in 1916 and during his tour of duty saw some of the heaviest fighting, including the battles of the Somme and Ypres. His experiences there on the French front led to his group of eight lithographs, which show a German soldier grappling with a many-headed mythical beast, reacting to a bombing, carrying a wounded comrade, and comforting a dying victim. The last image is of a crippled veteran awkwardly tilling his garden. In 1916-17 Adolf Uzarski created his set of twelve lithographs *Der Totentanz* (The Dance of Death; Cat. 191),



Fig. 15 Otto Dix, 4 plates from the portfolio *Der Krieg* (War), 1924 (Cat. 36)



Fig. 16 Käthe Kollwitz, 2 plates from the portfolio *Sieben Holzschnitte zum Krieg* (Seven Woodcuts about the War), 1922-23 (Cat. 126)

in which skeletons loom over the battlefield, are destroyed in a burst of fire, or engage in combat. A very different point of view is represented in the cycle *Das Leiden der Pferde im Krieg* (The Suffering of Horses in the War; Fig. 16, p. 66) by Otto Schubert, who depicts war through the eyes of the cavalry horse.

The war significantly affected the graphic and painted work of other artists as well. Gert Wollheim made a number of pencil sketches while in the trenches and in the 1910s and 1920s several paintings of trench warfare. His relationship to the activities in Dusseldorf are discussed fully in Heckmanns's essay. Wollheim's most ambitious work was his 1919 triptych *Der Verwundete* (The Wounded Man; Fig. 1, p. 80), of which only the central panel remains: blood spews forth from a gaping hole in the belly of a mortally wounded victim. Another painting, *Der Verurteilte* (The Condemned Man; Fig. 9, p. 87) shows a blindfolded man who awaits death barefoot and bound to a post. It is as somber in its implications as *Der Verwundete* is in its explicitness.

Images by Otto Gleichmann, who had served on the fronts in France and Russia, share this mood. A reflection of his wartime experiences, *Der Erstochene* (Stabbed Man; Cat. 71) depicts a casualty who appears enveloped by the ground on which his already decaying

body lies. A member of the *Hannoversche Sezession* (Hanover Secession), Gleichmann also exhibited with *Das Junge Rheinland* in Dusseldorf.

The impact of the war was not captured exclusively by those who served at the front. The sixty-nine-year-old Christian Rohlf depicts an anonymous prisoner trying to escape from captivity in his woodcut *Der Gefangene* (The Prisoner; Cat. 168) of 1918.

The Revolution: Political Posters and Periodicals

As the war drew to its bitter end, hunger and despair were rife throughout Germany. Military defeat and economic collapse were making themselves felt. Deserting soldiers roamed the streets and added to the chaos. The country was ripe for change. On November 9, 1918, Kaiser Wilhelm II fled to Holland, and a few days later announced his abdication. The stage was set for a revolution that would replace the old regime with a system in which the leaders were to be responsible to parliament. A coalition government of the moderate Social Democratic party and the more radical Independent Social Democrats was set up. Elections were called for January 1919. In the intervening period many artists be-



Fig. 17 Anonymous, *So führt Euch Spartakus!* (That's How Spartacus Leads You!), c. 1919 (Cat. 209)



Fig. 18 Heinz Fuchs, *Arbeiter! Wollt Ihr satt Werden?* [Workers! Do You Want Enough to Eat?], 1918-19 (Cat. 62)

came politically active, some for the first time, trying to stimulate action, strengthen opinions, or alter the social conscience. Posters were the visual weapons in the struggle of the working class against the rich (Figs. 17-18). In marked contrast to the censorship that had been so strictly enforced during the kaiser's reign, German cities now became a riot of colors and slogans as strident messages covered every available wall space.

Among the most traumatic events of the period were the brutal murders in Berlin of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, leaders of the abortive Spartakus (communist) Revolution. Liebknecht was the son of the Social Democratic party founder Wilhelm Liebknecht; Luxemburg was a prominent Polish socialist. Liebknecht was shot while "trying to escape" from the

police. Luxemburg was beaten to death; her corpse, thrown into the Landwehrkanal, was only recovered four months later. Kollwitz and Felixmüller were moved to create memorials of very different types. In his 1919 lithograph *Menschen über der Welt* (Mankind above the World; Fig. 19) Felixmüller sought to celebrate the apotheosis of the two leaders as if they were a pair of ascending lovers. Kollwitz, who had been asked by Liebknecht's family to make a deathbed sketch, responded instead to the communal grief of the numerous mourners who gathered for the funeral (Fig. 20). She worked the scene first as a drawing, then in lithography, and finally in her newly learned medium, the woodcut, with which she was able to convey most effectively her feelings about the intensity of the sorrow. With its emphasis on the mourners, this print came to stand for the aspirations and desperation of the working class, to whom Kollwitz felt strong ties.

Berlin, the capital of Prussia and the German empire, was the focal point of the most intense radical activity immediately following the November Revolution. A writer for the contemporary journal *Das Plakat* (The Poster), which was devoted to illustrations and descriptions of contemporary posters, describes the city scene in the months between November 1918 and January 1919: "The paper flood set in.... Berlin's streets were a riot of orgies of color, the houses exchanged their gray faces for an agitated mask.... The resourceful poster pasters advanced.... With brush and glue-pot, like ghosts in the night, they carefully pasted their posters so high that they could only be reached with mountaineering equipment."¹⁷ The first wave of posters, many of which were created for the government's Publicity



Fig. 19 Conrad Felixmüller, *Menschen über der Welt* (Mankind above the World), 1919 (Cat. 45)



Fig. 20 Käthe Kollwitz, *Gedenkblatt für Karl Liebknecht* (Memorial Sheet for Karl Liebknecht), 1919 (Cat. 125)



Fig. 21 Max Pechstein, *Erwürgt nicht die junge Freiheit* (Don't Strangle Our Newborn Freedom), 1919 (Cat. 161)



Fig. 22 Rudi Feld, *Die Gefahr des Bolschewismus* (The Danger of Bolshevism), c. 1919 (Cat. 43)



Fig. 23 Max Pechstein, *An die Laterne* (To the Lamppost), 1919 (Cat. 162)



Fig. 24 Clockwise from top: *Kündung* [Herald], 1921; *Der Weg* [The Way], 1919; *Die Sichel* [The Sickle], 1921; *Die Schöne Rarität* [The Beautiful Rarity], 1918; *Das Junge Rheinland* [The Young Rhineland], 1922; *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* [New Journal for Art and Poetry], 1918-19; *Das Tribunal* [The Tribunal], 1919; *Menschen* [Mankind], 1919

Office, called for the creation of a national assembly to assure the revolution its due.¹⁸ Many artists involved with the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* or the *Novembergruppe* contributed posters to the cause.

Pechstein's poster *Erwürgt nicht die junge Freiheit* (Don't Strangle Our Newborn Freedom; Fig. 21), of 1919 for instance, is a rather straightforward plea for an end to civil war. His powerful color lithograph *An die Laterne* (To the Lamppost; Fig. 23) warns against anarchy and terrorism. The suggestion of violence in the print is emphasized by the blood-red flags and the red splashes surrounding the hanged man and in the fists of the demonstrators.

Some of the most compelling posters were distributed by the anti-Bolshevik groups. They used images of gorillas, skeletons, and vultures depicted in gaudy, horrific yellows and reds to frighten the public to attention (Fig. 22). These artists sought a coalition, a united Germany, as illustrated in Klein's *Arbeiter. Bürger. Bauern. Soldaten* (Workers. Citizens. Farmers. Soldiers; Cat. 123).

In addition to making posters, many artists created covers for widely circulated broadsheets, pamphlets, and periodicals. "Between 1918 and 1925, 122 different literary journals of varying longevity were published throughout Germany; most of these were liberal to radi-

cal in bias. Of these 122, fifty-three were founded after 1918 and folded before 1925."¹⁹ The periodicals were able to respond instantly to current events. Their titles reflect the youth and vigor of their makers: *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* (New Journal for Art and Writing), *Das Neue Pathos* (The New Pathos), *Neue Jugend* (New Youth), *Der Neue Pan* (The New Pan), *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany), *Die Freude: Blätter einer Neuen Gesinnung* (Joy: Journal of a New Disposition), *Das Junge Deutschland* (The Young Germany), and *Das Junge Rheinland* (The Young Rhineland; Fig. 24). Guenther discusses many of the lesser-known journals in his essay. From Berlin, Bielefeld, Darmstadt, Dresden, Dusseldorf, Hamburg, Hanover, Heidelberg, Munich, and Saarbrücken came periodicals with titles such as *Die Aktion*, *Der Anbruch* (The New Beginning), *Die Dachstube* (The Attic Room), *Feuer* (Fire), *Kündigung* (Herald), *Menschen*, *Die Rote Erde* (The Red Earth), *Die Sichel* (The Sickle), *Das Tribunal* (The Tribunal), *Der Wurf* (The Venture), and *Der Ziegelbrenner* (The Brick-maker). Together they form an important part of the history of postwar German Expressionism, for it was in these periodicals that the artists, writers, publishers, and poets were able to join together most effectively to sound their cry for a new society and for a new role for creative people.



Fig. 25 Will Küpper, *Nach dem Krieg* [After the War], 1919 [Cat. 130]



Fig. 26 Will Küpper, *Streichhölzer*, *Streichhölzer* (Matches), 1919 [Cat. 131]



Fig. 27 Otto Dix, *Die Skatspieler* [The Skat Players], 1920 (Cat. 34)



Fig. 28 George Grosz, *Sonnenfinsternis* (Eclipse of the Sun), 1926 (Cat. 87)



Fig. 29 Wilhelm Rudolph, *Helft am Werk der IAH* (Help the Work of the IAH), 1924 (Cat. 169)

Urban Problems after the War

While for some artists the war was a major influence, for others the terrible situation prevailing in the cities afterwards provided the necessary spark. Postwar inflation caused the German mark to plummet from a pre-war exchange rate of 25 to the dollar to 162 to the dollar in June 1920. By 1923 the currency had collapsed completely: in April a dollar was worth 10,000 marks; on July first, 160,000 marks; by August, 4.6 million marks. By November 20 the equivalent was 4.2 trillion marks! Unemployment was widespread, hunger and malnutrition rampant, the middle class virtually wiped out. Beggars and crippled veterans selling matches became familiar figures (Figs. 25-26).

Dix's *Die Skatspieler* (The Skat Players; Fig. 27) of 1920 shows three mutilated veterans, former officers, playing cards in a gaslit pub. So deformed are they by their injuries that they are forced to play with prosthetic hands or with their mouths or feet. Little is left of these maimed figures, yet even the fragments – the Iron Cross, the carefully parted hair – recall an earlier world. Collaged elements, such as the newspapers on the walls, heighten the sense of realism.

In 1918 Beckmann returned, shattered by his experiences as a medic, to find misery and chaos in Berlin. In his monumental canvas *Die Nacht* (The Night; Fig. 6, p. 43) and in the portfolio *Die Hölle* (Hell; Figs. 7-8,

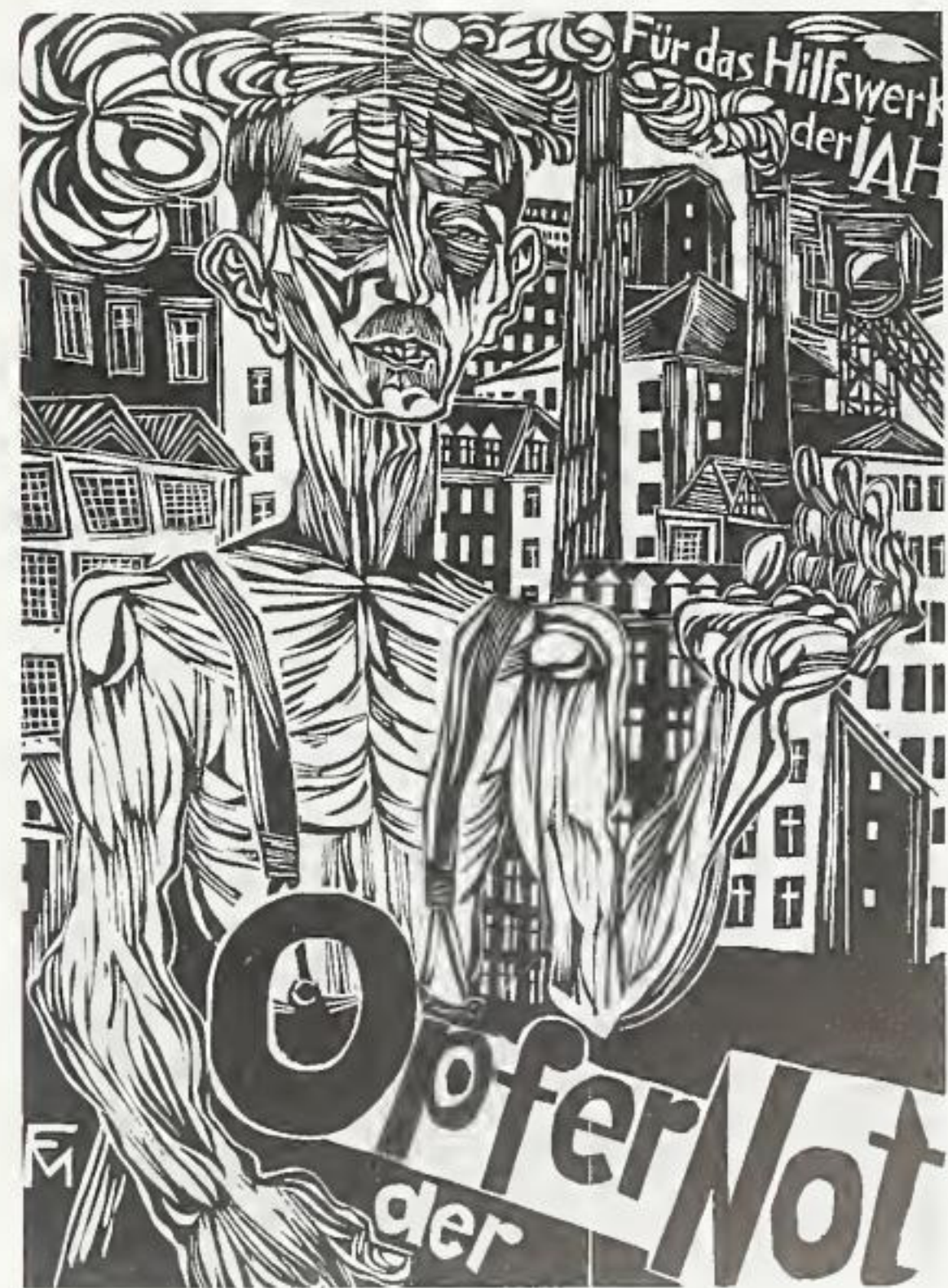


Fig. 30 Conrad Felixmüller, *Opfer der Not/Für das Hilfswerk der IAH* (Victim of Privation/For the Relief Organization of the IAH), 1924 (Cat. 57)

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Fig. 31 Walter Jacob, *Das jüngste Gericht* (The Last Judgment), 1920 (Cat. 110)

p. 44), also 1919, he depicts disabled veterans, beggars, prostitutes, and profiteers, searing representations of Germany in 1919.

The widespread famine of the early 1920s led in 1921 to the founding of the *Internationale Arbeiterhilfe* (International Workers' Aid), a nonpolitical program to end hunger. The IAH was founded by Willi Muenzenberg with the encouragement of Lenin to try to match the services offered by the Red Cross and the American Relief Administration, both of which had sent aid in the disastrous Russian famine of 1921. Grosz (Fig. 28), Albert Einstein, and George Bernard Shaw were among the sponsors of the IAH, whose headquarters were in Berlin.

The organization reported directly to the Soviet Comintern. Many artists were affiliated, encouraged by theater director Erwin Piscator, who served as secretary of the appeal to artists. Among those participating were Peter Böckstiegel, Felixmüller (Fig. 30), Otto Griebel, Wilhelm Rudolph (Fig. 29), and Seiwert. For two years they supported the IAH through contributions of works for sale or poster designs. The IAH laid the groundwork for a network of communication between Germany and Russia. Other connections were established when an international committee of intellectuals was formed; exchange visits of German and Russian artists and writers ensued.²⁰



Fig. 32 Otto Dix, *St. Sebastian*, c. 1920 (Cat. 33)

Turning to Religious Subjects

In the late 1910s and early 1920s many artists seemed to abandon purely political subjects and turn to familiar religious imagery instead. These depictions were infused with the Expressionists' intensity of color and emotion, contemporary events often masqueraded as sacred subjects, and the artists used African and Oceanic motifs for additional effect. Certain religious images became metaphors for the sufferings of the German people. The mystical and ecstatic aspects of theology appealed to many of these artists, and they appropriated familiar symbols and iconography. The mocking of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment, and St. Sebastian figure frequently in the repertoire of the second generation; rarely do we find images of redemption or of the Resurrection or Ascension. *Das jüngste Gericht* (The Last Judgment; Fig. 31), as depicted by Dresden Secession artist Walter Jacob is a powerful contemporary updating of a traditional image, complete with a bold portrait of Dix on the left, yanking a woman by the hair as she resists being pulled into an abyss. The figure of St. Sebastian came to stand for the people of postwar Germany beset by the ceaseless travails of hunger, inflation, and political chaos. Karl Albiker represents the martyred saint in a powerful oak sculpture (Fig. 33) seen



Fig. 33 Karl Albiker, *Der heilige Sebastian* (St. Sebastian), c. 1920 (Cat. 2)

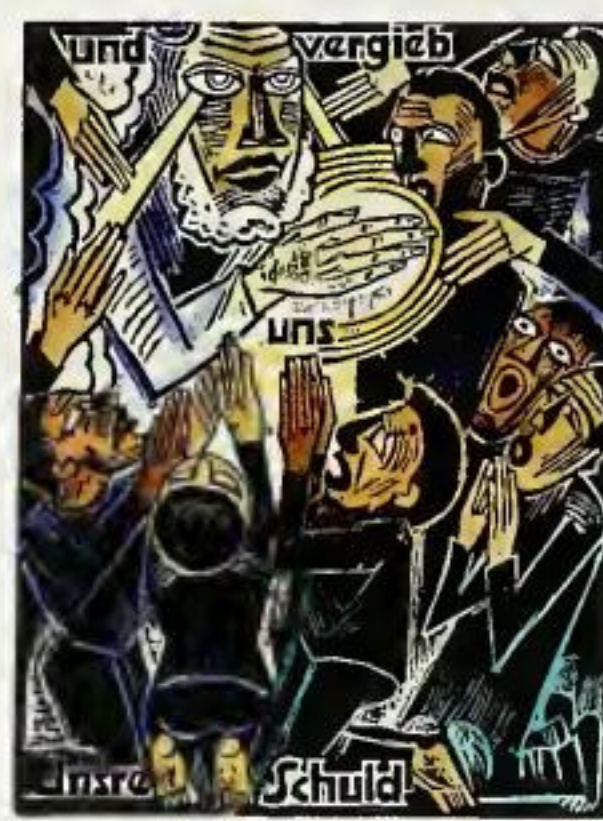
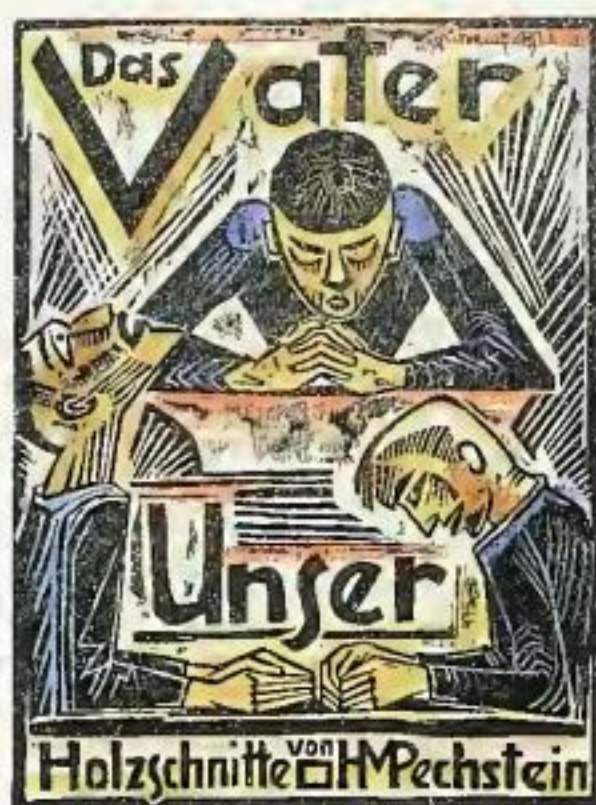


Fig. 34 Max Pechstein, *Das Vater Unser* (The Lord's Prayer), a portfolio of 12 handcolored woodcuts, 1921 (Cat. 164)



in the round, his frail body pierced by a wooden arrow. Willy Jaeckel, Schubert, and Dix (Fig. 32) also turned to St. Sebastian as a figure emblematic of the times. These images are powerfully direct and often convey a loss of faith on the part of the artists.

The artists frequently turned to wood, either in sculpture or woodblock, to convey their images of anguish. Pechstein, for example, weary of politics by 1921, turned to the Lord's Prayer for an elaborate hand-colored portfolio of twelve woodcuts *Das Vater Unser* (The Lord's Prayer; Fig. 34). He returned to Gothic renditions of frontally aligned subjects depicted with angular lines. One can look at his depictions of "Give us this day our daily bread" and "Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done" and relate them to the widespread famine, the end of the war or the beginning of a new age; one feels that Pechstein has made a well-known religious tradition more topical.

One of the most potent graphic cycles is the series of woodcut illustrations by Dresden Secession artist Constantin von Mitschke-Collande for Walter Georg Hartmann's allegorical book *Der begeisterte Weg* (The Inspired Way; Fig. 35; also p. 63). Hartmann tells of a young soldier who experiences the beginnings of the revolution, the funeral of Liebknecht, and the outbreak of street violence, during which he is killed. His spirit does not die: it wanders through revolutionary Germany, observing. Mitschke-Collande focuses on the religious salvation promised in Hartmann's text. He combines images from the Crucifixion and the Revelation of St. John (for instance, the horsemen of the Apocalypse)



Fig. 35 Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, 3 woodcuts from the portfolio *Der begeisterte Weg* (The Inspired Way), 1919 (Cat. 144)

to intertwine Expressionist religious imagery and a message about the revolution. The illustrations are a symbol of the political and spiritual awakening of the second-generation Expressionists. They reflect the crossroads that many artists felt they had reached.



Fig. 36 Otto Lange, *Christuskopf* (Head of Christ), 1916 (Cat. 132)



Fig. 37 Otto Lange, *Verspottung Christi* (The Mocking of Christ), 1919 (Cat. 136)



Fig. 38 Otto Lange, *Kreuzabnahme* (The Deposition from the Cross), 1916 (Cat. 134)



Fig. 39 Otto Lange, *Geisselung Christi* (Flagellation of Christ), 1917 (Cat. 135)

Mitschke-Collande's style also reflects that eclecticism of the second generation.

Another powerful portfolio with religious subject matter was produced by *Brücke* artist Schmidt-Rottluff after he returned from the war. In 1918 he executed a group of nine black-and-white woodcuts, *Christus* (Christ; Cat. 176), a series of ecstatic images of the life of Christ. One of the key pictures shows Christ with the legend *Ist Euch nicht Christus erschienen?* (Has Christ not appeared to you?) emblazoned across the bottom of the page. On his forehead is inscribed the year 1918, signifying a new beginning. Expressionist writer and Schmidt-Rottluff biographer Grohmann says of these religious images: "The striving for the supernatural appeared to be the reverse side of radical socialism, the expression of a psychosis awakened through war and revolution."²¹

Other images of Christ's suffering were used by Otto Lange, a member of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe* 1919. In a series of hand-colored woodcuts Lange created masklike faces carved from the woodblock with nervous, energetic strokes: the Mocking, the Deposition, the Flagellation are portrayed in angular forms (Figs. 36-39).

Abstract Expressionism

In the same way that they turned to spiritual, religious, or mystical subjects, the second-generation artists were drawn increasingly to the depiction of states of mind. Walter Gramatté executed a series of illustrations for the novella *Lenz* by Georg Büchner, which tells the story of a young man in eighteenth-century Germany who is torn between his search for God and the unrelenting suffering that thrusts him toward atheism. Gramatté's prints convey the sympathy that he and his fellow artists felt for this questing soul.

Expressionism began to show an apocalyptic or ecstatic coloration in the work of several artists after the war. In 1919 Johannes Molzahn published "Das Manifest des absoluten Expressionismus" (The Manifesto of Absolute Expressionism) in *Der Sturm*, in which, with highly charged language, he proclaimed the destruction of the old order and the rising of a new order in the aftermath of destruction (Fig. 40): "We want to pour oil onto the fire – fan the tiny glow into flame – span the earth – make it quiver – and beat more fiercely – living and pulsating cosmos – steaming universe."²² Molzahn propounded the notion of "abstract Expressionism," and in



Fig. 40 Johannes Molzahn, *Neues Land* [New Land], 1920 (Cat. 150)



Fig. 41 Rudolf Belling, *Dreiklang* (Triad), 1919 (Cat. 6)

his paintings and prints of 1919-20 he used a series of intersecting circular bands, reminiscent of both Robert Delaunay and the Futurists, whose work was also exhibited at the Galerie Der Sturm.

In his essay Stephan von Wiese discusses the international nature of the Expressionist movement and its connections with other avant-garde art of the time. He argues that the abstract variant of Expressionism has long been overlooked, and that it is precisely this aspect that is of importance in viewing Expressionism in an international context. By the early 1920s several artists of the *Novembergruppe* had developed a style that combined the intensity of color of Expressionism with the forceful lines of Futurism and Cubism's fracturing of the surface plane. The closing words of the manifesto of the *Novembergruppe* were: "We send our fondest greetings to all those artists who have heard the call and feel responsible – Cubists, Futurists, and Expressionists. Join us!"²³ This new kind of Expressionism was infused with an awareness of international developments, examples of which were regularly shown by Walden at Galerie Der Sturm. Otto Möller, Hans Siebert von Heister, and Fritz Stuckenberg represent the tendency.

Much of the sculpture of the second generation shares this attraction to abstract or emotive subject matter which evinces connections between Expressionism and other international styles. In his 1919 sculpture *Dreiklang* (Triad; Fig. 41), for instance, Rudolf Belling relies on Cubist principles of the breakup of space and the importance of voids. In 1919 Herbert Garbe created several sculptures with two abstracted figures representing traditional themes, such as sleep, love, and death; in all these works a common element can be

found in the adherence to Cubist principles of fracturing surface planes and in the emphasis on a single, clearly identified subject. His *Gruppe des Todes I* (Group of Death I; Cat. 67) of 1919, which owes much to Wilhelm Lehmbruck's sculpture, is a successful attempt to combine exaggerated movement and Cubist geometry. The architectonic structure of the composition serves to emphasize the emotional quality of the figures and to stress the allusion to the figure of Christ nailed to the cross. Garbe's figures display that unmistakable combination of Expressionism and Cubism that Roters has called "Cubo-Expressionism."²⁴ Richard Horn's sculpture *Aufbruch/Erwachen* (Departure/Awakening; Fig. 2, p. 101) which owes much to Archipenko, creates in plastic terms a sense of exploding or emergence from a solid form, in much the same way as Oswald Herzog's sculptures *Ekstase* (Ecstasy) and *Geniessen* (Enjoyment; Fig. 2, p. 117) of 1919. In Herzog's work the human form increasingly dissolves and individual characteristics become less and less defined; ultimately, the figurative world disappears altogether. He often draws his titles from the sphere of music: harmony, adagio, furioso. A sculpture such as *Geniessen* is a transformation of architectural elements into a composition that conveys emotion.²⁵

The End of Expressionism

By 1923 many of the artists who had joined the various groups had become frustrated with the prospects of their politically oriented activities ever bringing about a radical change in society. They found that the working class, rather than supporting their efforts and joining with them, had in fact nothing but scorn for them. Although many artists continued to decry social injustice and the ineffectiveness of the new regime in remedying the most pressing problems, the concerted group efforts, which for a short time had been so intense, dissipated as the artists became disillusioned with politics. It became impossible to sustain the ecstatic, heady commitment and frenetic pace. The artists had come to the realization that organized activities were not going to effect the desired radical changes in society, and many of them chose to go their own way. What replaced this spent force of Expressionism was a new, more realistic style, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, which made its first public appearance in Mannheim at the Kunsthalle when Gustav Hartlaub organized a show in 1925.

That year Felixmüller, on hearing of the suicide of his friend, the poet Rheiner, painted *Der Tod des Dichters Walther Rheiner* (Death of the Poet Walther Rheiner; Fig. 42, frontispiece). The death of his friend caused Felixmüller to return briefly but intensely to the Expressionism he had by then abandoned. Rheiner had been a member of the circle of poets and painters in



Fig. 42 Conrad Felixmüller, *Der Tod des Dichters Walter Rheiner* (Death of the Poet Walter Rheiner), 1925 (Cat. 58)

Berlin and Dresden that included Becher, Felixmüller, Hausmann, Herzfeld, Meidner, and Pfemfert. To evade conscription, Rheiner, like Becher, had taken cocaine; his apparent addiction saved him from the draft. Felixmüller later said of him: "Despairing at his lack of success, and in great financial difficulties, he had distanced himself from all his friends. Cocaine became his consolation."²⁶ In 1918 Rheiner wrote *Kokain* (Cocaine), in which he described the life and suicide of an addict in Berlin. Rheiner, who was only thirty, jumped from the window of an apartment in Berlin, clutching his needle in his left fist. Felixmüller captures the stark contrast between this wild gesture and the poet's rather pedestrian surroundings, geranium-filled window boxes and lace curtains, which the poet pulls aside as he leaps into the pulsating urban nightscape of Berlin. Felixmüller portrays himself in the figure of Rheiner, as if to say a final farewell to an era that had passed.

Notes

- 1 Donald E. Gordon, *Expressionism: Art and Idea* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. xvi, 217.
- 2 Friedrich Burschell, "Revolution," from *Memories* (Munich, 1918-19), cited in Paul Raabe, *The Era of German Expressionism* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1974), p. 247.
- 3 "Der Krieg./Ende einer gewaltigen, lügenhaften, materiellen Zeit./Verfall des vergänglichen Körpers./Aufstieg der Seele." Kinner von Dressler, "Einführung," *Menschen* 4, nos. 38-45 (May 11 - June 29, 1919), p. 5.
- 4 "Das Kunstprogramm des Kommissariats für Volksaufklärung in Russland," *Das Kunstblatt* 3, no. 3 (March 1919), p. 91.
- 5 For a thorough discussion of German periodicals of the era see Orrel P. Reed, Jr., *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 206-56.
- 6 Victor Meisel, *Voices of German Expressionism* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 13.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.
- 8 Joan Weinstein, "Art and the November Revolution in Germany 1918-1919," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1986, p. 31.
- 9 Meisel, *Voices*, pp. 179-80.
- 10 Max Pechstein, "Was Wir Wollen," in *An Alle Künstler!* (Berlin, 1919), trans. Meisel, *Voices*, p. 179.
- 11 *An Alle Künstler!*, p. 7.
- 12 Private communication, November 1987.
- 13 Conrad Felixmüller, cited in Frank Whitford, *Expressionist Portraits* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p. 136.
- 14 *Sezession Gruppe 1919* (Dresden: Verlag E. Richter, March 1919), p. 7.
- 15 Conrad Felixmüller, in *Conrad Felixmüller: Legenden 1912-1976* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), p. 12.
- 16 Carl Sternheim, *Der Cicerone* 15 (October 19, 1923).
- 17 Ernst Carl Bauer, "Das politische Gesicht der Strasse," *Das Plakat* 10, no. 2 (March 1919), p. 166.
- 18 Weinstein, "Art," p. 31. The torch in the lower right-hand corner of many posters and pamphlets indicates that they were sponsored by the Publicity Office. For a fuller description of this period, and especially of its politics, see Weinstein's dissertation.
- 19 Ida Katherine Rigby, "Expressionism and Revolution 1918 to 1922," in Reed, Jr., *German Expressionist Art*, p. 303.
- 20 John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), pp. 71, 86, 97.
- 21 Will Grohmann, *Karl Schmidt-Rottluff* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956), p. 90.
- 22 Johannes Molzahn, "Das Manifest des absoluten Expressionismus," *Der Sturm* 10, no. 6 (1919), pp. 90-91. For a discussion of this and Molzahn's abstract Expressionism see Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Expressionism, Abstraction, and the Search for Utopia in Germany," in *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1986), pp. 209-17.
- 23 Meisel, *Voices*, p. 170.
- 24 Eberhard Roters, *Berlin 1910-1933* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), p. 109.
- 25 Karin Breuer, "Herzog," in Stephanie Barron, ed., *German Expressionist Sculpture* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1983), p. 100.
- 26 Conrad Felixmüller, as cited in Whitford, *Expressionist Portraits*, p. 138.



Fig. 1 Ludwig Meidner, *Apokalyptische Landschaft* (Apocalyptic Landscape), 1913 (Cat. 140)

Prewar, Wartime, and Postwar: Expressionism in Berlin from 1912 to the Early 1920s

The history of art constantly turns out to be a much more complicated matter than the written accounts of it would have us believe, however intelligent and thorough those accounts may be. This applies not least to the art of our century. One reason for this is that perspectives in art shift with increasing distance – sometimes to our astonishment – and reveal phenomena and events previously hidden from view by intervening factors such as established interpretive systems.

Max Beckmann and Ludwig Meidner are undeniably among the major figures in German Expressionist art, and yet both have only recently begun to receive the international recognition that is their due. Beckmann's work has long been appreciated inside Germany, but opinion elsewhere has been slow to follow suit. The outside world's discovery of Beckmann began in the United States, and the primary credit for this is due to Peter Selz.¹ Beckmann's recognition as an artist of world stature did not, however, become universal until after the exhibition of his triptychs in London in 1980.² Meidner, by contrast, was rediscovered by his compatriots not so long ago, primarily as a consequence of the interest taken in him abroad.³

Why is this so? Were Meidner and Beckmann thought of as backward-looking, retardative Expressionists? Did art historians and the art public have difficulty categorizing their work? They belonged to the second generation of German Expressionists, it is true, but not in a strictly chronological sense. Meidner and Beckmann were contemporaries: both were born in 1884. But that was also the year in which Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, one of the founders of *Die Brücke* (The Bridge), was born; and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner was only four years older. All these artists came from central and eastern Germany, the cradle of German Expressionism.

The artists of *Die Brücke* had given their group its name in 1905. From 1908 to 1911 they moved, one by one, from Dresden to Berlin, and by 1912 had gained some recognition for their work. Art historians therefore rightly regard them as the inventors of the expressive gestural brush stroke and as the founders of German Expressionism although a period of seven years, from 1905 to 1912, is a long time in terms of establishing stylistic priorities.

The decisive breakthrough in Meidner's stylistic development took place in 1912. It was then that he em-

barked on his magnificent series of apocalyptic landscapes. This was two years before Kirchner reached the culmination of his artistic career in the big-city Expressionism of his Berlin street scenes. Meidner – like Beckmann, but unlike Kirchner – was an urban Expressionist from the very start; and this in itself reveals a wide divergence of mental attitudes.

The crucial year in which Beckmann found his artistic and personal identity was 1915, when, as a soldier on the Western Front in World War I, he suffered a psychosomatic breakdown. His path to artistic individuality and expressive power thus began with a trauma. The lightning of inspiration struck, as it had for Meidner three years before. That brief, tense interval of three years had at its center one great external event: the outbreak of war in August 1914. Meidner's work and Beckmann's combine to form, as it were, a narrow pass, an initiatory gateway: two pillars that flank the moment of catastrophe.

Meidner and Beckmann knew and respected each other. In 1911 Beckmann, whose sophisticated style of painting, still wedded to the tradition of the Berlin Secession, had already won him recognition as an artist, was able to write Meidner a testimonial for a grant that saved him from penury.⁴ In 1912 Beckmann visited Meidner in his studio and later acknowledged that the visit had been an inspiration to him.⁵

What was it that drew these two very different individuals together: Meidner, asthenic, short, slight, nervous, restless, excitable; and Beckmann, athletic, solidly built, "German-looking," melancholic? What is it that links their modes of artistic expression, and what distinguishes this, in its turn, from that of *Die Brücke* or *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider)? What strikes the eye first is their extensive and subtle use of the color black. Of course, *Die Brücke* Expressionists used black too, but primarily as an outline and a framework to hold the figures together, rather as medieval artists used black strips of lead in stained glass. In a remarkable number of *Brücke* paintings black does not appear even in the contours, which are picked out in blue, red, purple, yellow, or other colors. *Die Brücke* artists did not want black; they wanted festive colors, as a metaphor for joy and vitality. Meidner and Beckmann did want black.

Black in Meidner's paintings, for all the artist's voracious visual appetite for color, adds a somber gleam to

the surface and represents the dark background of fate against which a raucous scenario of decline and fall takes its explosive course: black is the shadow of life, *Umbra Vitae* (also the title of the first volume of verse, published in 1924, by the Berlin Expressionist poet Georg Heym).

In Beckmann's paintings black clamps objects and figures together, forcing them into painful proximity and even interpenetration, shutting them in upon themselves, and cramming their essence into an utterly objectlike state of plasticity until the confinement seems to hurt. Black also issues from the openings in Beckmann's world – from phonograph horns, for example – like an active, sucking antistubstance; it wells up from the underworld, a manifestation of some primeval darkness hungry to devour the daylight.

Both artists are conscious dreamers who remember their visions and bring reflections of them into their painted world.⁶ What links the styles of Meidner and Beckmann and sets them apart from the evocatory painting of the first-generation Expressionists can be expressed by the term "apocalyptic Expressionism."

Meidner, like most of his poet friends, loved to walk the streets of the city. He roamed the outlying suburbs of Berlin for hours on end and drew his inspiration from

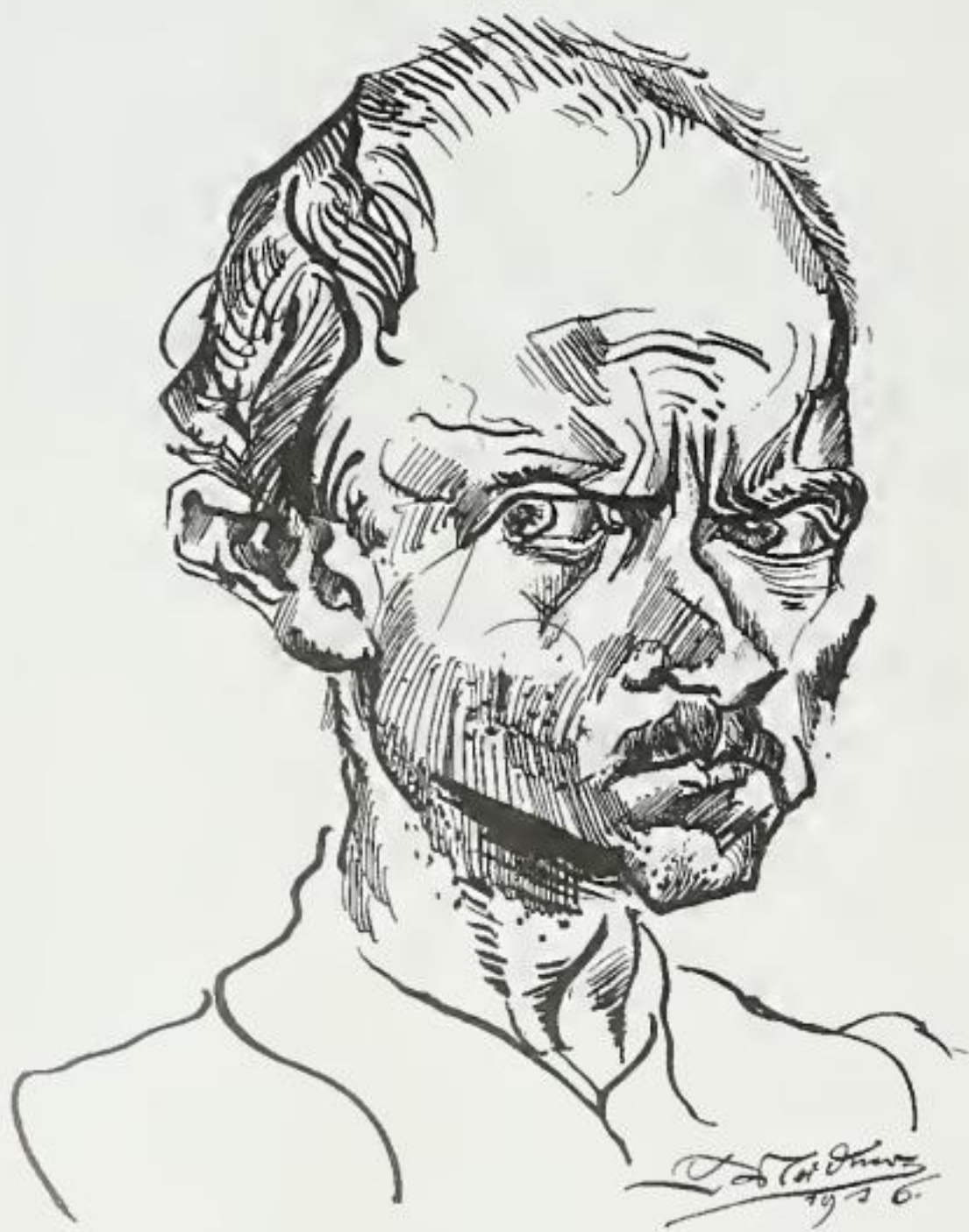


Fig. 2 Ludwig Meidner, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait), 1916, ink on paper, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (44 x 35 cm), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies



Fig. 3 Ludwig Meidner, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait), 1923 (Cat. 142)

what he saw. At night, back in the dark, little attic room that served as his studio, he painted houses and streets that began to dance under his brush, as if the earth beneath the city were shaking. From dancing houses it was only a step to blazing cities. In the summer of 1912, that hot summer following a rainy April, that had such an invigorating impact on European art in general,⁷ Meidner embarked on his apocalyptic landscapes, which he painted one after another in a sustained creative frenzy (Fig. 1). Most of them date from 1912 or 1913; the *Jüngster Tag* (The Last Day), which came in 1916, was a vision already overtaken by the reality of the war. Meidner, who came from Silesia, the country that had produced those utterly individual and unsectarian mystics, Angelus Silesius and Jakob Böhme, was possessed of mediumistic powers. He had a clairvoyant premonition of the coming catastrophe. Meidner was a prophet, and the many figures of prophets who are to be seen fulminating in his drawings make it clear that this was how he saw himself (Figs. 2, 3).

Although basically a wanderer and recluse, a retiring artist who really liked nothing better than to bury himself in his studio with his paintings, Meidner had a remarkable gift for making friends and collecting people around him. From 1912 onward all the leading bohemians of Berlin, the eccentrics and originals of the age,



Fig. 4 Conrad Felixmüller, *Bildnis Raoul Hausmann* (Portrait of Raoul Hausmann), 1920 (Cat. 48)



Fig. 5 William Wauer, *Bildnis Herwarth Walden* (Portrait of Herwarth Walden), 1921 (Cat. 199)

gathered in his studio.⁸ Avant-garde poets and writers were there in force, as were fellow visual artists; in many cases it was no easy matter to decide who was which. Beginning in 1913 Meidner held open house every Wednesday evening.⁹ The poet Jacob van Hoddis¹⁰ came, as did the writers Kurt Hiller¹¹ and Franz Jung¹² and two prominent members of the later Berlin Dada movement, Raoul Hausmann¹³ (Fig. 4) and Johannes Baader.¹⁴ From Dresden came the young painter Conrad Felixmüller, who still called himself Felix Müller or sometimes Müller-Dresden.

What happened in Meidner's studio was something new. Not only was there a direct exchange of ideas and opinions between artists and writers, but the ground was laid for the collective and individual identities of an entire generation of artists who stepped into the forefront of public consciousness during and especially after the war. These were artists who handled their materials in a manner totally different from that of the previous generation. Their work had acquired – as can be discerned very clearly in some artists and faintly in others – a political dimension. Their approach was more aggressive, more insolent; their tone, peremptory, even cynical. This cynicism was the child of despair, and it found its most cogent postwar expression in Berlin Dada.

The years 1911, 1912, and 1913 are so important because they were the incubation period for postwar art. There were meeting places like Meidner's studio all over Berlin. The artists who met there also saw each other and members of other groups at the Neopathetisches Cabaret and in the numerous cafés along the Kurfürstendamm, particularly the Café des Westens, known to the bourgeoisie as the "Café Größenwahn" (Café Megalomania), which was supplanted in 1915 by the Romanisches Café.¹⁵ These intercommunicating contact points served as fast breeders to promote the fusion of artistic and literary ideas. It was an uncommonly exciting time.

There was another linking medium whose significance would be hard to overestimate: the cultural and political periodicals of the avant-garde, dominated in Berlin by two titles in particular. These were *Der Sturm* (The Storm), founded by Herwarth Walden (Fig. 5) in 1910, and *Die Aktion* (Action), founded by Franz Pfemfert in 1911. Both were broadly left-wing. Pfemfert, a committed pacifist, laid his emphasis on politics, regarding artistic expression as an elevated means of communicating political ideas; Walden's *Der Sturm*, pleasantly liberal – but by no means unaggressive – in its left-wing sympathies, placed its principal emphasis on art and culture. In 1912 Walden opened his Galerie Der Sturm. The consequences of this event serve to make the years 1912 and 1913, in a still deeper sense than that described hitherto, an incubation period for the "second phase" of Expressionism.

The exhibition with which Walden opened the Galerie Der Sturm had the title *Der Blaue Reiter, Oskar Kokoschka, Expressionisten* (The Blue Rider, Oskar Kokoschka, Expressionists). The Italian Futurists followed in April 1912. The climax of the first run of Sturm exhibitions was the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* (First German Fall Salon) of September 1913. These exhibitions – aside, that is, from the excitement of the Futurist roadshow – aroused no very marked public response; but their impact on the Berlin avant-garde has still to receive its historical due. The visible influence of the Futurist exhibition stretches from the Berlin street pictures of Kirchner to a major part of the work of the artists of the *Novembergruppe* (November Group).

In the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* Walden showed his own impressive, if highly personal, selection of the work of the European avant-garde for the first time. Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, and Gino Severini – the Italian Futurists – were there; so were Alexei von Jawlensky, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Franz Marc – the artists of *Der Blaue Reiter*; Lyonel Feininger was featured along with Marc Chagall and Alexander Archipenko, the Russian Primitives and Rayonists Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov, and the Paris artists Robert Delaunay, Sonia Delaunay-Terk, Albert Gleizes, Fernand Léger, and Louis Marcoussis.

(Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque were not included.) There were also representatives of the Czech and Hungarian avant-garde, among them Emil Filla, Béla Kadar, and Otokar Kubin.

The names alone show that Walden's exhibition had a wide ideological as well as geographical range. What interested him most was not the exact theoretical provenance of such stylistic terms as Cubism, Futurism, Expressionism, and Primitivism: matters to which he probably gave little thought. What it all added up to for him was the synoptic view, the stylistic synthesis. This continued to be apparent in his exhibition policy over the following years. Walden intuitively pursued a synthesis of the varied styles of the European avant-garde. His conception of the history of art was a unitary one, and to denote this overriding unity he unhesitatingly employed an all-embracing term: Expressionism.

Expressionismus: Die Kunstwende (Expressionism: The Turning Point in Art) is the title of a pamphlet-manifesto published by Walden in 1918.¹⁶ It had been preceded in 1917 by *Einblick in Kunst: Expressionismus, Futurismus, Kubismus* (Insight into Art: Expressionism, Futurism, Cubism), a slim volume in cardboard covers that contains, as well as reproductions of works by Sturm artists, a collection of essays by Walden, some of which had already appeared in the periodical *Der Sturm* itself.¹⁷ In these, Walden, a brilliant journalist with a vivid and expressive style, formulated his theory of art with great force and conciseness.

In the essay "Zur Formulierung der neuen Kunst" (Toward a Formulation for the New Art) he asserts that "Cubism is a term that refers to the same artistic impulse [as that of Expressionism] in France." Here he de-

finied the common factor that he found in Futurism, Expressionism, and Cubism: "The picture takes shape according to law except that the laws of art are not determined by the artist or by the theoretician but by the pictorial surface. Each movement is made visible by at least one countermovement. These rhythmic interactions are the life of the picture."¹⁸ The essay "Zur Geschichte der neuen Kunst" (On the History of the New Art) contains the essence of Walden's creed:

Art is not receptivity to what is given; art is receptivity to what gives. Art does not render; it tendsers . . .

The artist is there to paint a picture, not a forest . . . Painting is the art of the surface. It is not there to represent bodies; it is there to shape surfaces . . .

Plane is circumscribed by color . . . The formulas must not be objects; primarily and exclusively they must be forms, or else they must turn back into forms. It is not because a picture represents objects that it is art; in fact, it ceases to be art when it represents on a surface objects that are not primarily and exclusively formal elements of the surface that is to be shaped . . .

The concepts of foreground and background have nothing to do with art. Painting is an art of surfaces. Any representation of a body on a surface is illusory; and illusion, including optical illusion, is not art because it violates the laws of art.

The inner laws of art are those of the unity of form and the unity of materials. Every work of art carries its own laws within it. These laws can therefore not be determined in advance; they can only be recognized after the event. To call nonimitative forms "geometrical" is in itself a metaphor. However, the forms of geometry are closer to art than those of the imitation of Nature because geometrical forms are related to each other and not to something external to geometry.¹⁹

Some of these pronouncements may sound like platitudes to us today; but they were new and revolutionary then. Not only to the Berlin artists but to others who made the pilgrimage to Berlin, they came as a reve-



Fig. 6 Max Beckmann, *Die Nacht* (Night), 1918-19, oil on canvas, 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 60 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (133 x 154 cm), Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf



Fig. 7 Max Beckmann, *Die Hölle* (Hell), 1919, plate 3 (Cat. 4)

lation on a par with that of the paintings on the walls of the Sturm gallery.

It is clear from Walden's writings that his concept of Expressionism was considerably different from, and broader than, that which is prevalent today. At that time, however, the use of the term to refer to a wide-ranging stylistic synthesis – undoubtedly pioneered by Walden – was the norm among artists and all those who concerned themselves with art. The restricted application of the term to first-generation gestural Expressionism in Germany is a product of art-historical hindsight. It is a usage that may well have served the interests of clarity, but it has also stood in the way of any historical awareness of the subsequent evolution of those forms of German avant-garde art that bore the common impress of Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism.

Anyone who studies French Cubism in its purest form soon becomes aware that the style is the transposition of a theory of perception into pictorial syntax. The French Cubists are concerned, broadly speaking, with the visualization of Cartesian space. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, the Frankfurt-born dealer and writer who was the friend and mentor of the Cubists from the very start and who published the first basic account of Cubism in German, defines the basic geometrical forms that provide the structural framework of Cubist paintings, in terms of his native German, Kantian tradition, as "visual categories" within our consciousness that predate all illusionistic perception.²⁰

To German artists in Berlin and elsewhere these theories were a matter of total indifference, if, indeed, they ever heard of them. They did their thinking, as



Fig. 8 Max Beckmann, *Die Hölle* (Hell), 1919, plate 6 (Cat. 4)

artists should, with their eyes. In Futurism they were fascinated by the staccato visual rendering of motor activity; in Cubism, by the strict dialectic of verse-and-response in the structuring of the surface; in Delaunay's Orphism, by color as form; and in the art of *Der Blaue Reiter*, by the way in which spiritual and psychic vibrations were made visible through harmonies of line and color. Behind all the local particularities of the various artistic regions of Europe they discerned a common basic stylistic concept. This can be reduced, after due allowance for all the diversity of individual expression, to a common formula: the interplay of line, plane, and color manifests an expressive rhythm that is constantly regenerated through the clash of contraries and thereby reveals a fundamental law of cosmic and human existence and experience.

The resulting stylistic free-for-all led in German art – and particularly in the art produced in, or influenced by, Berlin – to a crossover of stylistic resources whose product can be designated by the somewhat unwieldy term “Cubo-Futuro-Expressionism.” This synthesis, which had its origins in 1912–13, bore fruit in the early postwar years. Its outstanding manifestation was the art of the *Novembergruppe*.

The artistic revolution might well have remained in the sphere of pure form, and there might not have been even a gesture toward revolutionary political utterance, had it not been for that one catastrophic event of which many artists had had a premonition, and which many a bored member of a society jaded by the long years of peace had covertly or overtly longed for: the “Great Caesura” of World War I.²¹

Many a young artist who went into the war full of confidence – and perhaps partly impelled by the prewar sense of tedium – found that the profound shock of mass slaughter enabled him to express, with resources drawn from the depths of his being, the shattering impact of the encounter with his own undisguised self, no longer intact but marked forever by a rift, a split at the core.

Beckmann bears witness to this. It is possible to trace from one print to the next in the etchings made between 1915 and 1917 how the inner break became visible and grew.²² In paint, his testimony to the crisis is the *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-Portrait with Red Scarf) of 1917.²³ In the same year he painted the *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition from the Cross),²⁴ an image of torment and despondency that bears no hint of a coming Resurrection. In the immediate postwar years, 1918 and 1919, Beckmann painted an image of inexorable, oppressive power, *Die Nacht* (Night).²⁵ Both of these motifs, the *Kreuzabnahme* and *Die Nacht*, were repeated in etchings, the *Kreuzabnahme* as a single sheet²⁶ and *Die Nacht* (Fig. 6) as part of the powerful sequence of prints, *Die Hölle* (Hell; Figs. 7–8),²⁷ in which he laid the foundation of his future style, both in subject matter and in composition. If Meidner is the prophet, Beckmann is

like the disciple at the empty tomb; he has intimations of a world beyond, from which he receives mysterious messages, but (as yet) he knows nothing of the Resurrection. The existential shock of war, which must have struck him with the force of a thunderbolt, opened up a gaping chasm in his acutely observant and critical mind from which dreams emerged to mingle with the perceptions of everyday life. His interiors, crammed to bursting with people and objects that rub and jostle against each other, are the antechambers of limbo, waiting rooms for those in quarantine between this world and the next. Later, when Beckmann was living in exile, moving from one hotel room to another, painting his triptychs, his life became an eerily exact counterpart of his art, a transposition of that spectral pictorial dimension that lies between daylight and dream.

Like Beckmann, a number of other young artists found an inner capacity for experience in the trauma of battle, which became a source of artistic creation. This process is exemplified in the early works of George Grosz and Otto Dix, produced between 1914 and 1919, such as Dix's *Selbstbildnis als Mars* (Self-Portrait as Mars; Fig. 9), of 1914, and Grosz's *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (Dedication to Oskar Panizza; Fig. 10), of 1917. These works, like those of Meidner and Beckmann, are manifestations of apocalyptic Expressionism.

The dates of all these works show that the period of World War I witnessed the production of a number of



Fig. 9 Otto Dix, *Selbstbildnis als Mars* (Self-Portrait as Mars), 1915, oil on canvas, Haus der Heimat, Freital, GDR



Fig. 10 George Grosz, *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (Homage to Oskar Panizza), 1917-18, oil on canvas, 55 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 43 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (140 x 110 cm), Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart

key works. This was a war that changed the world and marked a great historical divide. Felixmüller from Dresden, born in 1897, unfit for military service because of a heart condition, was a member of the circle that gathered and talked in Meidner's studio.²⁸ He first came to Berlin in 1914. In 1916 he exhibited at the Galerie Der Sturm. For Pfemfert's *Die Aktion* he did woodcuts that contained some references to political events. The cover woodcut for one issue of *Die Aktion* in 1917 had the title *Rettet Euch Menschen* (Run for Your Lives, People; Fig. 11). This marked a decisive step. For the first time the style of the Expressionist woodcut had been harnessed to a political end. Many of the works of second-generation Expressionists are clearly differentiated from those of the first generation by this one feature: their political and social motivation.

What had begun in the works of the wartime period now matured in the postwar period. The works of Felixmüller's Expressionist period are the classic instance of this. Nothing is left of the lyrical Expressionist celebration of nature, as practiced by the artists of *Die Brücke*: no celebration of life in exuberant color; no delight in the big-city aesthetic, with its appeal to erotic and motor impulses alike. What then took over was a concern with the types, and the hardships, of the proletariat, presented in an aggressively discordant blare of color.

Even after the *Brücke* artists moved from Dresden to Berlin, there were constant contacts between the two cities. The to and fro that went on marked an affinity between Dresden and Berlin which was an important relay in the electrical field from which the second generation of Expressionist artists emerged. Grosz and Dix had studied at the Dresden academy under Richard Müller. Meidner had spent a few months in Dresden in 1914, just before the outbreak of war. Hausmann occasionally made quick visits to Dresden. Felixmüller traveled between Dresden and Berlin throughout the war, even though his dealer and print publisher were in Berlin. All these artists kept up a loose form of association, which survived into the early postwar years. Felixmüller was one of the first to join the *Novembergruppe* in 1918.²⁹ The group that he and others formed in Dresden, the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* (The Dresden Secession Group 1919),³⁰ was linked with the *Novembergruppe* in Berlin by reciprocal membership arrangements, by the participation of individual members in exhibitions, and in many other ways.

The *Novembergruppe* was formed on December 3, 1918 by the Berlin painters Moriz Melzer (Fig. 15), Max

Die Aktion

WOCHENSCHRIFT FÜR POLITIK, LITERATUR, KUNST
VII. JAHR. HERAUSGEGEBEN VON FRANZ PFEMFERT NR. 39-40

(INHALT) Felix Müller: Original-Holzschnitt (Holzblatt) / L. Franz: Zur Regelung der zwischenmenschlichen Angelegenheiten / Bernhard Langer: Michael Bakunin / Richard Bäumg: Original-Holzschnitt / Ludwig Bäumer: Der Untergang / H. Anger: Menschen (Original-Holzschnitt) / Albert Blumstein: Nachtlos / Camill Hoffmann: Ruhende Landschaft / Gustav Schulz: Langsam / Jan Goll: Unterrauch / Christian Schold (Oert): Apachencafé (Original-Holzschnitt) / Svendsen: Schuld, Verantwortung: Salme / Heinrich Schaefer: Aus Meinungen / W. Schuler: Hunde (Holzschnitt) / Georg Greter: Brief aus Neutal (Holz) / Aus-Schilling in Zürich / Hodler: Studie / Theodor Lessing: Johannes Scherr zum hundertsten Geburtstag / J. P.: Ich schneide die Zeit aus; Kleiner Briefkasten



VERLAG / DIE AKTION / BERLIN-WILMERSDORF

HEFT 80 PFG.



Fig. 11 Conrad Felixmüller, *Rettet Euch Menschen* (Run for Your Lives, People), 1917, woodcut, *Die Aktion*, vol. 7, no. 39-40, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies



Fig. 12 Max Pechstein, *Selbstbildnis mit Tod* [Self-Portrait with Death], 1920-21 (Cat. 163)

Pechstein (Fig. 12), Heinrich Richter, and Georg Tappert (Fig. 13). "Also present at the first meeting were the following artists: the painters Rudolf Bauer, Otto Freundlich (Fig. 20), Bernhard Hasler, Karl Jakob Hirsch, Richard Janthur, Bruno Krauskopf, and Wilhelm Schmid, the sculptor Rudolf Belling, and the architect

Erich Mendelsohn. With a few exceptions these were also the members of the initial working parties of the *Novembergruppe*" (Fig. 14).³¹ The name *Novembergruppe* itself proclaimed a revolutionary mentality. The ambitions with which the group made its entrance on the scene were far-reaching. The *Aufruf der November-*



Fig. 13 Georg Tappert, *Alte Chansonette* (Old Chansonette), 1920 (Cat. 190)

gruppe (November Group Appeal), dated December 13, 1918, began as follows: "The future of art and the seriousness of the present hour force us, the revolutionaries of the spirit (Expressionists, Cubists, Futurists), to unite and join forces. We therefore urgently call upon all those artists who have broken the traditional mold of art to declare their adherence to the *Novembergruppe*."³² The *Manifest der Novembristen* (Manifesto of the Novem-

brists) asserted: "We stand on the fertile ground of Revolution. Our slogan is: LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY! We have come together because we share the same human and artistic beliefs. We regard it as our noblest duty to dedicate our efforts to the moral task of building Germany young and free."³³

This "appeal" was prefaced with the words *Sehr geehrter Herr!* (Dear Sir). From today's vantage point the contrast between the sweeping rhetoric of the content and the conventional bourgeois form of address is not without its comic side. And even this tiny detail is a sign of a fundamental contradiction that beset the *Novembergruppe* from the very start and worked itself out in a long series of misconceptions, misunderstandings, and terminological muddles. The one misconception that underlay all the others consisted in the belief that a revolutionary political attitude could somehow bridge the gulf between the artist's lofty aspirations and the day-to-day squalor of his existence, that ideals and groceries, in other words, could somehow be reduced to a functional common denominator. The existential paradox inherent in this equation is impossible to resolve because the two quantities involved are incommensurable. After the *Novembergruppe* had oscillated for a while between the two poles of its own ambivalence, it sensibly opted to prolong its survival by changing from a largely inarticulate revolutionary body into an exhibiting society.

The wide variety of stylistic loyalties that the group ultimately embraced was not present at the beginning. In the early years the works of the Novembrists showed a broad unanimity that is easier to sense in terms of a shared climate and mood than it is to define. Pechstein, one of the founding members, and Meidner took part



Fig. 14 Clockwise from left to right: *Novembergruppe* artists Melzer, Kepes, Möller, Tappert, Dungert, Herzog, Kampmann, Wetzel, Segal

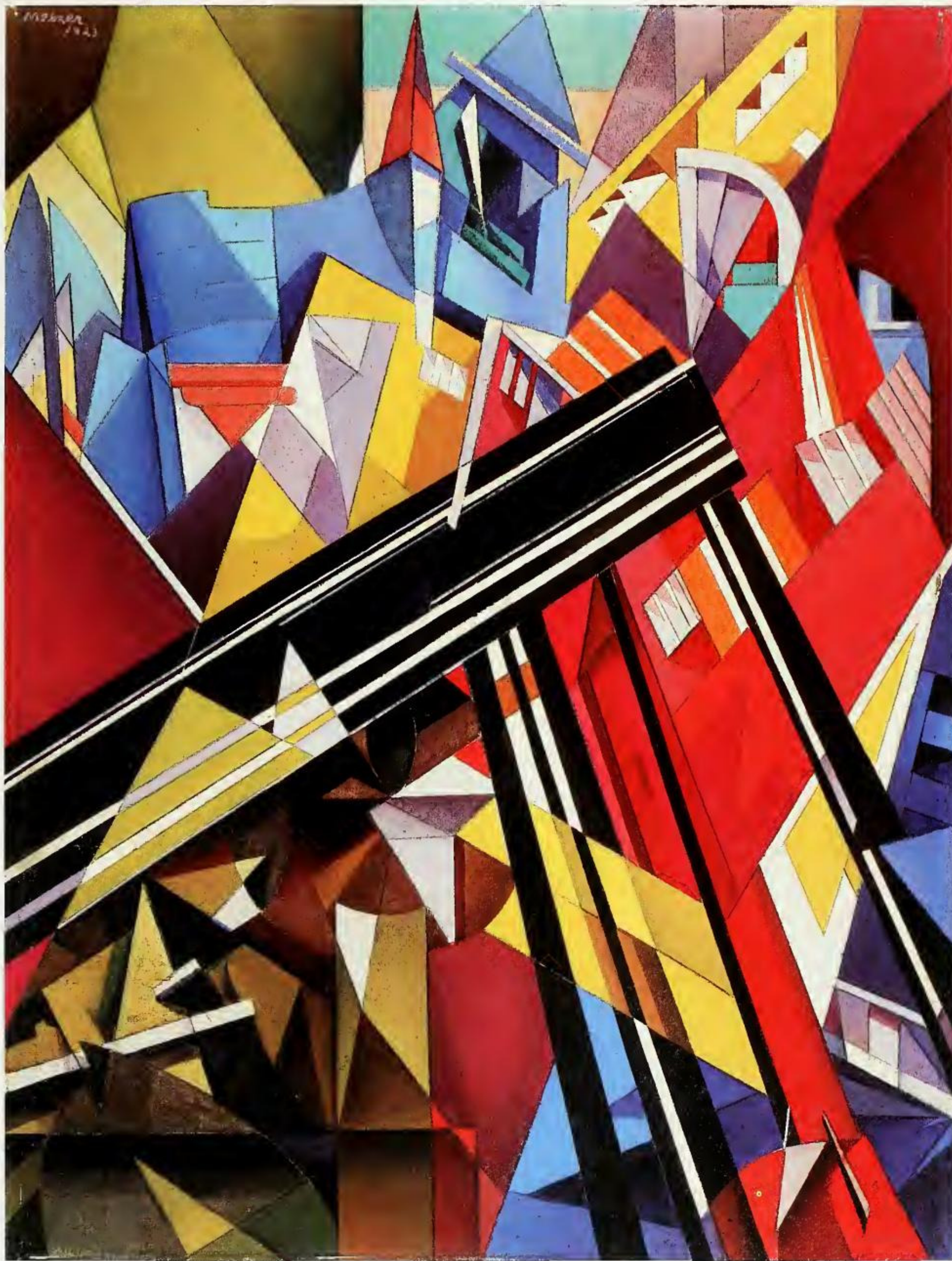


Fig. 15 Moriz Melzer, *Brücke-Stadt* (Bridge Town), 1923 (Cat. 143)



Fig. 16 Hans Siebert von Heister, *Pietà*, 1919 (Cat. 97)

only in the inaugural exhibition, in 1919, and then turned away from the group. The majority of the members bore the impress of *Der Sturm*, either because they had shown at the Galerie Der Sturm and thus become "Sturm artists" – as they then proudly styled themselves – or because their manner of seeing had been schooled in the Sturm exhibitions and they had thus consciously or intuitively made Walden's concept of an Expressionist stylistic synthesis into the guiding principle of their own work. Hence the way in which these artists (who included Max Dungert [Fig. 18], Hans Siebert von Heister [Fig. 16], Walter Kampmann [Fig. 17], Arthur Segal [Fig. 19], and Otto Freundlich [Fig. 20]) chose to describe themselves: "the revolutionaries of the spirit (Expressionists, Cubists, Futurists)."

German artists had grown up under the old monarchy in a state of political naiveté, for which they are to be pitied rather than blamed. For one instant the Revolution gave them an exhilarating sense of total freedom, which raised their expectations far too high; they acquired a positively metaphysical conviction that all their problems were at an end. But this was, alas, a German revolution (and thus one of those that are popularly said to take place "indoors if wet"). And these were German artists. They were too diverse in their aims and in their methods to keep the ideals of bourgeois individualism, socialism, communism, and anarchism distinct from each other, so they were tossed together and



Fig. 17 Walter Kampmann, *Der Feldherr* (The Military Commander), 1922 (Cat. 117)



Fig. 18 Max Dungert, *Turm* (Tower), 1922 (Cat. 38)

labeled of course *Weltanschauung*. The result was utter confusion, a confusion that is reflected in the virulent controversies that arose within the *Novembergruppe*.

In order to stress their revolutionary credentials the *Novembergruppe* artists referred to themselves as "workers of the spirit" and by analogy with the revolutionary system of soviets, or workers' committees, they set up a workers' council for art (*Arbeitsrat für Kunst*).³⁴ It was supposedly that there they could commune in revolutionary fervor like worshippers in a



Fig. 19 Arthur Segal, *Drei Figuren* (Three Figures), 1922 (Cat. 183)

church – the Cathedral of Socialism depicted in a woodcut by Feininger. All this was basically nothing but cabala, or verbal conjuring. Anyone can call himself a worker, but that does not necessarily mean that he knows anything of alienation in the workplace.

In 1919 the *Arbeitsrat* published the book *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrates für Kunst in Berlin* (Yes! Voices of the Workers' Council for Art in Berlin), edited by the Berlin art historian Adolf Behne, in which, "springing from the turmoil of the moment of Revolution," a questionnaire was answered by twenty-eight distinguished architects, painters, and sculptors whose written responses were published. The ideas and proposals put forward by these people are so many and varied, and in many cases so touchingly remote from reality, that the outcome of the survey is impossible to summarize. Behne, who was an intelligent man, soon gave up, and in May 1921 the *Arbeitsrat* was dissolved.³⁵

Among the principal ways in which the revolutionary artists got their lines crossed was that they confused the artistic revolution, the destruction of traditional forms – which was their business, and something they

knew how to handle – with the political revolution and its intention to transform society. It was some time before it began to dawn on the artists that these are two fundamentally different things having nothing whatever to do with each other. A draft written in 1922 by the painter and art teacher Otto Möller (Fig. 21) for a (possibly unsent) reply to a left-wing "Open Letter of the *Novembergruppe* Opposition" includes this passage: "The Opposition is well aware that the *Novembergruppe* has long since learned from practical experience that the pursuit of radical political objectives is a matter for each individual, and that the group as a collective body is there purely to pursue radical artistic objectives."³⁶ A truth that needed to be acknowledged.

The open letter to which Möller was replying had been published in the periodical *Der Gegner* (The Opponent) in 1920–21.³⁷ It is signed by the leading lights of Berlin Dada – Dix, Dungert, Grosz, Hausmann, Hannah Höch, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz – among others. It mocks the *Novembergruppe* itself for the high-flown rhetoric of its initial statements and accuses it of bourgeois complacency leading to depoliticization.

The writers say of themselves: "We have a sense of the duty imposed on us by the struggle of the world's proletarians for a life imbued with pure spirit. We feel it our duty to go forward with the masses along the path that leads to the achievement of this common life."³⁸

But these self-styled "radical left-wingers" were laboring under the same fundamental delusion as the bourgeois fellow artists whom they had singled out as their adversaries. Their own attitude to the proletariat was a sublimely sentimental one, as the literary bombast and fustian of their statements shows. They were all strong-willed individualists, anarchists with a markedly elitist view of their own position, and neurotically sensitive to criticism. From the point of view of Bolshevik ideology, the bourgeois individualist is politically neutral, but the anarchist individualist is the exact antithesis of a communist, in that the organization of society through soviets requires the individual to identify with the collective and submit to the rules of collective action. This distinction, which many people still find hard to grasp, seems to have been totally beyond the ken of the "left-wing" artists of the early 1920s.³⁹ Some of them became aware of it later; one of these was Grosz, who consequently, and logically, resigned from the German Communist party.⁴⁰

Grosz, Dix, Schlichter, and Scholz, all signatories of the open letter, were among the pioneers in the early 1920s of the veristic version of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity). A new style, in keeping with a new form of consciousness and diametrically opposed to the rhetoric



Fig. 20 Otto Freundlich, *Die Mutter* (The Mother), 1921 (Cat. 61)



Fig. 21 Otto Möller, *Boot mit gelbem Segel* (Boat with Yellow Sail), 1921 (Cat. 146)

of Expressionism, was coming to the fore. Rhetoric takes plenty of breath, and if Expressionism had become rather short-winded over the years, its conflicts and contradictions were in no small measure responsible.

The gestural style, one of the original hallmarks of German Expressionism, never disappeared entirely but withdrew into a less turbulent, more restrained kind of painting that ran parallel to the stylistic epochs sanctioned by art history and has remained comparatively little noticed to this day.⁴¹

Notes

- 1 Peter Selz, *Max Beckmann* (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1964); Max Beckmann, *Sichtbares und Unsichtbares*, ed. Peter Beckmann and Peter Selz (Stuttgart: Belser, 1965). In 1964 Selz organized the exhibition *Max Beckmann: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors, and Prints* at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, with catalogue essays by Peter Selz, Harald Joachim, Perry T. Rathbone, and Inga Forslund. The exhibition was also shown in Boston, Chicago, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main, and London.
- 2 *Max Beckmann: The Triptychs* (Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1980, and Städtische Galerie im Städtischen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 1981). Catalogue essays by Klaus Gallwitz, Gert Schiff, Stephan Lackner, Clifford Amyx, and Claude Gandelmann.



Fig. 22 Magnus Zeller, *Der Redner* (The Orator), 1919-20 (Cat. 206)

- 3 The credit for the first full critical assessment of Meidner's work is due to Thomas Grochowiak, who was responsible for the first major exhibition and the first major monograph on the artist after World War II (*Ludwig Meidner* [Kunsthalle, Recklinghausen, 1963; Haus am Waldsee, Berlin, and Kunsthalle, Darmstadt, 1964]; Thomas Grochowiak, *Ludwig Meidner* [Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1966]). In Germany, the interest of a younger generation was aroused by the Meidner paintings shown in the exhibition *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985* (Royal Academy, London, 1985, and Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1986). It seems that some artists who might seem to have long since earned their places in history are fated to be rediscovered generation by generation.
- 4 Grochowiak, *Meidner*, p. 25.
- 5 Ibid., p. 38.
- 6 Max Beckmann, "Über meine Malerei," a talk given in the New Burlington Galleries, London, in 1938; "On my Painting," Buchholz Galleries, New York, 1941; Beckmann, *Sichtbares*, p. 20ff. Subsequently reprinted several times. Meidner, diary entry for July 18, 1915, in Ludwig Meidner, *Dichter, Maler und Cafés: Erinnerungen*, ed. Ludwig Kunz (Zurich: Die Arche, 1973), p. 32.
- 7 Grochowiak, *Meidner*, p. 66.
- 8 In 1913 Meidner lived at Wilhelmshöher Strasse 21, Berlin-Friedenau, and in November 1914 he moved back to his former studio at Landauer Strasse 16, Berlin-Wilmersdorf. Meidner, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 11, 17.
- 9 Meidner, *Erinnerungen*, p. 11.
- 10 Jacob van Hoddiss (Hans Davidsohn, born Berlin 1887, died near Koblenz 1942) was an Expressionist lyric poet, who joined Kurt Hiller in founding the Neuer Club (New Club) in 1909. From 1914 he was mentally incapacitated. The Neuer Club changed its name in 1910 to Neopathetisches Cabaret. The club, a circle of writers and artists, gave many young Expressionist poets their debuts. Georg Heym was one who read his poems there. The Neopathetisches Cabaret met at the Casino, on Nollendorfplatz, where the writers' club Die Kommenden (The Coming Ones) had been holding readings and lectures since 1900.
- 11 Kurt Hiller (born Berlin 1885, died Hamburg 1972) was a writer and journalist, a contributor to *Die Aktion*, and a critic who did much to promote Expressionist writing.
- 12 Franz Jung (born Neisse 1888, died Stuttgart 1963), a business journalist, became an Expressionist writer in 1912. He contributed to *Die Aktion*, joined Berlin Dada, and took part in the November Revolution of 1918-20. After 1933 he was active in the anti-Fascist resistance. He moved to the US in 1948 and returned to Germany in 1960.
- 13 Raoul Hausmann (born Vienna 1886, died Limoges 1971), painter, photomontage artist, poet, art critic, was a contributor to *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion* and in 1918 a founding member of the Berlin Dada movement. In 1933 he left Germany, moving to Paris and then to Ibiza. From 1944 he lived in Limoges.
- 14 Johannes Baader (born Stuttgart 1875, died Adldorf, Bavaria, 1956) was an architect specializing in memorials when, in 1906, he designed a "world temple" (unrealized) for an ecumenical religious union of mankind. He was a founding member of Berlin Dada, with the title of Oberdada.
- 15 The Café des Westens, the original meeting place of Berlin's literary bohemia, was at Kurfürstendamm 18/19, on the corner of Joachimstaler Strasse, more or less diagonally opposite what is now Café Kranzler. In October 1915 the Café des Westens moved further up the Kurfürstendamm to a new building at No. 26. The new location and the new premises did not suit the artists, who missed the old, easy-going, smoky atmosphere. They moved on to the Romanisches Café in Budapester Strasse, which was opposite the Memorial Church, roughly on the site now occupied by the open space with the fountain in front of the Europa-Center.

The architect Konrad Wachsmann relates the following anecdote in his memoirs:

He [Wieland Herzfelde], Grosz, and I were sitting in the Romanisches Café one day when Herwarth Walden and Gottfried Benn [ex-husband and ex-lover respectively of the Jewish poet Else Lasker-Schüler] walked in almost simultaneously. Someone at a table behind us said: "All we need now is the Star of Bethlehem." By this he of course meant Lasker-Schüler. Herzfelde spun round on his chair and threatened to box the offender's ears. Grosz was ready to fight a duel on the spot. It was all highly dramatic. I have seldom

seen either of them so furious. I was angry too, of course, but I did not think that the "Star of Bethlehem" remark was meant to be anti-Semitic, because one of the three young men at the table behind us was Fritz Jacobsohn, the brother of the editor of *Die Weltbühne* [The World Stage], and he would hardly have been sharing a table with anti-Semites. The remark was an ugly one, even so, and Jacobsohn hastened to make peace. He got both of his companions to apologize, and they made a hasty departure. "You're lucky!" Herzfelde called after them. "I'd have organized an exodus from here too!"

Grosz explained to me what he meant. Herzfelde had boxed the ears of the writer Kurt Hiller for making a derogatory remark about Lasker-Schüler; that was in the Café des Westens. The proprietor told Herzfelde to leave and banned him from the premises, whereupon Lasker-Schüler, Grosz, and Herzfelde walked out and transferred their custom to the Romanisches Café. The whole elite followed shortly afterwards, and Herzfelde believed that he was responsible for depriving the owner of the "Grössenwahn" of his famous customers.

Michael Grüning, *Der Architekt Konrad Wachsmann: Erinnerungen und Selbstauskünfte* (Vienna: Lucker, 1975), pp. 74-75.

- 16 Herwarth Walden, *Expressionismus: Die Kunstwende* (Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1918).
- 17 Herwarth Walden, *Einblick in Kunst: Expressionismus, Futurismus, Kubismus* (Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1918).
- 18 Ibid., pp. 123-24.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
- 20 Daniel-Henry [Kahnweiler], *Der Weg zum Kubismus* (Munich: Delphin, 1920), p. 39.
- 21 "Great Caesura" is the term coined by the Sturm artist and Berlin Constructivist Erich Buchholtz for his own experience of the cathartic impact of the war on the artistic consciousness (Erich Buchholtz, *Die grosse Zäsur*, published by the author [Berlin, 1953]). See also Matthias Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).
- 22 Alexander Dückers, *Max Beckmann: Die Hölle, 1919* (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1983), pp. 21-46.
- 23 Max Beckmann, *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-Portrait with Red Scarf), 1917, oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- 24 Max Beckmann, *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition from the Cross), 1917, oil on canvas, 151 x 129 cm, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- 25 Max Beckmann, *Die Nacht* (Night), 1918-19, oil on canvas, 133 x 154 cm, Kunstsammlungen Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf. Matthias Eberle, *Max Beckmann, Die Nacht: Passion ohne Erlösung* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1984).
- 26 Klaus Gallwitz, "Werkverzeichnis der Druckgraphik," in *Max Beckmann: Die Druckgraphik* (Badischer Kunstverein, Karlsruhe, 1962), cat. no. 102.
- 27 Max Beckmann, *Die Hölle* (Hell), 1919. A suite of ten offset lithographs with a lithographic title page and a portfolio with a lithographic cover image (Berlin: Graphisches Kabinett I.B. Neumann, 1919). Gallwitz, "Werkverzeichnis," cat. nos. 113-23 (*Die Nacht* is cat. no. 117); Dückers, *Beckmann*, cat. nos. 66-77, ill. 97-134, p. 77ff. (*Die Nacht* is cat. no. 73, ill. 123, p. 99).
- 28 Grochowiak, *Meidner*, p. 69: "An apocalyptic landscape of this sort, started in 1913 and never completed, is to be found on the back of a portrait of Conrad Felixmüller." In a letter of 1915 to Hannah Höch in Gotha (unpublished, Hannah Höch archive, Berlinische Galerie, Berlin), Raoul Hausmann tells of his first meeting with Conrad Felixmüller (then still known as Felix Müller) in Meidner's studio.

- 29 Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1969), p. 11.
- 30 Exhibition catalogue *Dresdner Sezession 1919-1925* (Galleria del Levante, Milan and Munich, 1977).
- 31 Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 11.
- 32 Ibid., p. 55.
- 33 Ibid., p. 56.
- 34 Exhibition catalogue *Arbeitsrat für Kunst Berlin 1918-1921* (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1980).
- 35 Adolf Behne, draft of a press statement, on the back of a letter to Hans Poelzig dated June 4, 1921, in *Arbeitsrat*, p. 114.
- 36 Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 64.
- 37 "Offener Brief der Opposition der Novembergruppe," *Der Gegner* 2, nos. 8/9 (Berlin, 1920-21), p. 297ff.; Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, pp. 61-64.
- 38 Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 63.
- 39 Georg Tappert gave a telling account of the situation from his own point of view in a letter to Franz Pfemfert of November 20, 1918, written while the recollection of a meeting of the "Workers' Council of the Spirit" was still fresh in his mind:

I wish you had been there, in a way, because the mood of the gathering would have shown you how right I have been about this all along. Whether Spartacist or U.S. [Independent Social Democrats], these people want nothing to do with you, or with us, and even the proletarian neckband does nothing to win us their confidence or comprehension. What we are doing is utterly alien to them. They have not the least desire to understand it; it is a matter of total indifference, as far as they are concerned, and so it will be ten or fifteen years from now! The young proletarians of 1900 would have been a far more suitable target for... *Die Aktion* and its endeavors....

You will not take my word for it, quite rightly, and you will say that I judge matters as an artist, as the possessor of spiritual values. To this I would reply that as the son of a committed Socialist I grew up in the doctrines of Socialism, and that I know the life of the party in all its forms and the proletariat in all its heights and depths. From the moment I took the decision to become a painter, I was regarded as a renegade and a bourgeois. I could furnish you with dozens of instances in which organized comrades, who had worked their way up from artisan to artist by sheer force of intellect, have been hounded out of electoral organizations and trade unions in spite of the fact that they have played their part modestly and laid no claim to intellectual leadership.

The comrade, the manual worker, simply does not recognize your political work in *Die Aktion*. You don't talk his language – nor does Jung, nor does Bäumer. You are at best tolerated, but not understood. The same will happen to you with the Spartacist group. You – we – are welcome enough now as fellow-travelers; but come the Revolution, and they will smash your shutters, and as soon as they get into power they will dictate what you are allowed to publish.... The proletarian is under the mistaken impression that the whole of the new art is a product of bourgeois society, and he now demands to be the dictator who will tell artists what path the new (and of course Socialist) art will have to follow....

One might suppose that the art of Felix Müller and others, who have something in them of the broadside woodcuts of the Reformation period, could be – or could become – expressive forms appropriate to this age; but I doubt it: the masses don't want it, never will want it, will reject like a foreign body any manifestation of an artist's psyche.

Gerhard Wietek, *Georg Tappert: Ein Wegbereiter der deutschen Moderne 1880-1957* (Munich: Karl Thieme, 1980), pp. 48-50.

- 40 Uwe M. Schneede, ed., *George Grosz: Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1975), p. 90.
- 41 The works of Otto Gleichmann, Walter Gramatté, Willi Jaeckel, and Paul Kuhfuss come into this category. A first attempt to do justice to this line of evolution, which leaves much scope for further detailed research, is made by Rainer Zimmermann in his book *Die verschollene Generation: Deutsche Malerei des Expressionismus 1925-1975* (Düsseldorf and Vienna: Econ, 1980).



Fig. 1 Otto Dix, *Krieger mit Pfeife* [Soldier with Pipe], 1918 (Cat. 28)

Dresden from 1913 and the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*

The masters of first-generation Expressionism were represented regularly in the annual exhibitions of the various artists' associations in Dresden, and of the Galerie Arnold and the Galerie Emil Richter. It was inevitable that a younger generation would want to make its contribution to the new style. And so in 1916 an Expressionist community was formed to embrace Expressionist art in all its forms. That year, in a comprehensive exhibition of prints and drawings, Conrad Felixmüller, his brother-in-law Peter August Böckstiegel, Otto Lange, and Constantin von Mitschke-Collande – who were to exhibit together in the following year at the Galerie Emil Richter as the *Gruppe 1917* (1917 Group) – were represented along with many others. The only artists left out, it seems, were those who were prevented from submitting work because they were on active military duty. Felixmüller, who was just twenty, had his first solo show that year, also at the Galerie Emil Richter.

The decisive artistic breakthrough came with the end of the war in 1918 and the formation of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* (Dresden Secession Group 1919; Fig. 2). It is impossible to be certain who took the initiative. With some justification Felixmüller claimed most of the credit. Another major contribution was made by Hugo Zehder, a Baltic German who, as an architect in a city where there was nothing to build, spent his time writing. Zehder and Felixmüller were united by political as well as artistic bonds. They were joined first by their friends from the *Gruppe 1917*: Böckstiegel, Lange, and Mitschke-Collande. Then came Lasar Segall, the Lithuanian. Felixmüller recruited Otto Dix, who had returned to Dresden from his hometown of Gera at the beginning of 1919. Other members of the group were Wilhelm Heckrodt (from Hanover) and Otto Schubert. The only female member, Gela Forster from Berlin, was the daughter of a famous architect, Bruno Schmitz. The oldest member by far was Lange, who was forty; the youngest, Felixmüller himself, was twenty-two. Oskar Kokoschka was declared a member, but his membership was purely honorary; it was announced as a way of making clear the group's artistic allegiance. Kokoschka remained a member of the *Künstlervereinigung* (Artists' Association) and never exhibited with the Secession.

Zehder's influence had been considerable since 1917, as editor of the reviews *Menschen* (Mankind) and *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* (New Journal of Art and

Poetry), published by Dresdner Verlag in 1917, and of two anthologies of new poetry, *Dichtung der jüngsten* (Poetry of the Youngest) and *Das neue Gedicht* (The New Poem), which went far beyond the specifically pictorial concerns of the Secession. Other writers who belonged to the inner circle were Will Grohmann, Heinar Schilling, and Paul Ferdinand Schmidt. Grohmann served as organizer until the group broke up after its 1925 exhibition. He established his reputation as a champion of modern art by editing the Secession's first portfolio of prints. Schilling, the youngest son of the builder of the nationalistic Niederwald Monument, a figure of Germania on the Rhine, was a lyric poet and



Fig. 2 Otto Dix, *Gruppe 1919* (Group 1919) [Cat. 29]

the proprietor of Dresdner Verlag. He edited subsequent portfolios by two members of the Secession, Dix and Lange, and also by a nonmember, Bernhard Kretzschmar. Schilling alternated with the dramatist Carl Sternheim, and the poet Iwan Goll as editor of *Menschen* and *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung*. Both magazines had close ties to the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* but did not concentrate exclusively on events in Dresden. Beginning late in 1918 they published poems, prose, dramatic scenes, essays, and criticism from all the German-speaking countries as well as texts translated from French and Russian, insofar as these were sympathetic to Expressionism and their own political commitment. Worthy though both magazines were, neither could withstand the relentless pressure of inflation, and they ceased publication in 1921.

The first exhibition of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* took place at the Galerie Emil Richter in April 1919. It was followed only a month later by an exhibition at the *Berliner Freie Sezession* (Free Berlin Secession). In the catalogue of the Emil Richter exhibition, the founding members of the group proclaimed their artistic objectives:

The formation of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* comes as a natural consequence of the impulse, which has long been urgently alive within us, to turn our backs once and for all on old ways and old means. Working collectively but preserving the freedom of the individual, we intend to seek and to find a new expression for that personality and for the new world that is all around us. We have not come together by chance: what unites us is our compelling awareness of what such a union can do to make the evolution of art go our way. We know ourselves to be ready to lead the younger talents in this city along the path of artistic progress and toward the objectives of our group, and this has impelled us to the step we have taken; its significance is absolutely clear to us, and its consequences will become plain and manifest to all.

The introduction was written by Rheiner.

Young painters appear on the scene. Heralds of a new world, they are the hunted, tormented, blissful, dithyrambic prophets of the Wonder of Wonders: this roaring, rushing world, man tossed into heaven.... And they call out to you or they sing and weep, full of the cosmos that forms within them, new with every day and every hour.... Don't look for what your eye, your all-too-weary eye, expects to see. You are not here to be entertained – or to be bored either.... That world of yours is falling apart! Can't you see? ... But.... Life be upon you! ... Color, Line, Plane, Space triumph elementally.... Look! Shut your eyes and look! ... Turn from your blindness! School the eye! School the spirit! You are human, and this is about you.

The demands of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* were stated by Rheiner in *Menschen* in 1919:

Fortified and elevated by four years and more of a bloodbath that was the product of materialism, [the group] takes artistic, political, and practical action to oppose that materialism – in every variety, whether masked or unmasked – with its own fundamental idealism, of whose ultimate victory it is convinced. This idealism is called "Expressionism." It follows that Expressionism is not a purely technical or formal issue but above all a spiritual

(epistemological, metaphysical, ethical) attitude that has been present in human history not just since this morning or yesterday but for thousands of years. In politics this idealism is the anti-nationalistic socialism that is now radically and unconditionally demanded, not only in the spirit but in the act!

The critic Felix Zimmermann took a more detached view of the enterprise, writing in the newspaper, the *Dresdner Nachrichten*, in April 1919:

Everywhere people feel the urge to insult the bourgeoisie, to flout all conventions, but they also crave to find and wrest from Nature something, somewhere, that is absolutely new, something never seen before. For the moment the slogan of the 1919 Group is "Revolution," and its ultimate objective is a long way off.... But there is no denying the strength and energy of this youthful movement, and there will be no holding it back. Its path will long be a stormy one.

A second exhibition followed at the Galerie Emil Richter a few months later. This time there were guest exhibitors: painters from outside Dresden, including George Grosz, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Kurt Schwitters, and the Dresden sculptors Ludwig Godenschweg and Eugen Hoffmann.

In the early stages of the group's existence a stylistic affinity became apparent among its members, who described themselves as a "fraternal union and fighting organization." The early days of *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) had been similarly marked by a stylistic affinity. In the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*, however, this initial unity was even shorter-lived than it had been in *Die Brücke*.

Stylistically, the group's motivating force might be described as "ecstatic Expressionism," in which Cubist elements played a significant part. Felixmüller even tried to suggest that this use of Cubism was the basis for a whole philosophical attitude, by proclaiming: "We are Cubists of Life."

In 1919, the first and most important year of the Secession's existence, its members produced variations on the discontinuous, zigzag forms used by the artists of *Die Brücke* in the period after 1910; the Cubism of Picasso and his fellows was also critical. All this is particularly clear from the extensive output of prints and especially from those in the most frequently used medium, the woodcut, whose favored status was itself a legacy of *Die Brücke*.

The initial auguries were favorable, but the life of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* was to be a brief one. This was first and foremost a consequence of political differences that led to the departure of some of the group's founders. Zehder left as early as August 1919 "for personal reasons and on grounds of principle." Before the third Secession exhibition in 1920 Felixmüller, the prime mover, resigned, to be followed by Böckstiegel and Schubert. By then Felixmüller had become a close and active collaborator of Franz Pfemfert, editor of *Die Aktion* (Action) and an adherent of radical communism, based on workers' soviets, which was rep-

resented in Dresden by Otto Rühle. One of Felix-müller's most valuable legacies to the group were the close ties he had established between it and sister organizations such as the *Rheinische Sezession* (Rhenish Secession) and the *Berlin Novembergruppe* (November Group).

By the time the third exhibition opened, the founders were a dwindling band. Forster had met Alexander Archipenko in Berlin in 1919 and had returned to join him. Among the new members were Godenschweg, Hoffmann, fellow sculptor Christoph Voll (Fig. 3), and the painter Walter Jacob. Painter Otto Griebel joined in 1922.

In 1921 the group held only a print exhibition at the Galerie Emil Richter, which then toured a number of German cities. It was not until May 1922 that it became possible to mount a third representative showing at the Galerie Arnold. The only original members still in the group were Dix, Heckrott, Lange, and Mitschke-Collande. New members represented were Griebel, Koschka's student Hans Meyboden, and the painter Heinrich Barzinski, along with Hoffmann and Voll. Max Beckmann, Heinrich Campendonk, Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee, and Schmidt-Rottluff were guest exhibitors. It has not been established whether there were exhibitions in 1923, the worst year of inflation, or in 1924.

In 1925 Grohmann wrote once again to the members, including those who had left Dresden, inviting them to take part in a show under the auspices of another artists' association, the *Dresdner Kunstgenossenschaft* (Dresden Art Community), on the premises of the *Sächsischer Kunstverein* (Saxon Art Society). His letter to Segall in São Paulo still exists in that artist's archive. Those who did take part in the 1925 exhibition included Griebel, Heckrott, and Mitschke-Collande. Before Dix declined, the organizers had already borrowed his recently completed painting of the Glaser family. Other Dresden painters who were represented were Barzinski, Max Busyn, Franz Lenk, Fritz Skade, Walter Sperling, and Fritz Tröger. Hans Grundig showed his famous *Liebespaar* (Loving Couple). Wassily Kandinsky and Oskar Schlemmer submitted works as representatives of the Weimar Bauhaus. With this exhibition the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* came to an end.¹

Art history has yet to assign a satisfactory name to Expressionism's left wing. Dietrich Schubert has proposed Socialist Expressionism for the work of the first members of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* and of certain other artists.

By 1920 it was clear that in the Secession Expressionism had already started to give way to something else. "A new force seems to have overtaken us," as one member put it. In painting and sculpture alike, this force was a new realism, foreshadowing Verism and *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), and it found its earliest and most powerful expression in Dresden.



Fig. 3 Christoph Voll, *Ecce Homo*, 1924-25 [Cat. 196]

Some of the reasons for the stylistic change were practical ones. When asked about his move in the direction of more realistic forms, Dix answered that Expressionist forms were no longer adequate to express his pictorial ideas. This applied particularly to the portrait, which has its own special requirements and was at that time acquiring new significance. Those who commissioned portraits wanted likenesses. They wanted to be recorded, not distorted. And so the return to a realistic way of working, based on Nature, was a logical reaction against Expressionism, unless, that is, the artist went all the way to abstraction, and none of the members of the Secession did. The group's honorary president, Kokoschka, and Dix himself were among the most committed adversaries of abstract art and remained so to the end of their days.

To assemble an adequate and convincing record of the group's work for exhibitions is impossible because so much has been lost, first by the confiscations ordered by the Nazis, then by the actions of many artists and owners who destroyed works out of fear, and finally by the destruction of studios in the bombing of Dresden on February 13-14, 1945. In addition, the artists themselves not infrequently rejected their early works. Felixmüller, for example, was still disowning them as late as the mid-1950s.

Conrad Felixmüller

Although the youngest member of the Secession, Felixmüller was unquestionably the most active, and without him there would have been no group. His resignation at the end of the first year was thus something more than a symptom of stagnation. The critic and publisher Rudolf Kaemmerer, reviewing the first exhibition in 1919, called him the "leader of the group, the most lucid of them all, and the most aware." Zehder wrote of him that "For a good while, this youthful artist was the only logical and consistent Expressionist, dragging along in his wake the half-aware weaker brethren."

All the members of the Secession trained as artists in Dresden, either at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Art) or the Akademie der Bildenden Künste (Academy of Visual Arts) on the Brühlsche Terrasse, and some of them at both. Felixmüller studied at the academy under Ferdinand Dorsch before joining Carl Bantzer's master class. Born in 1897, he was considered something of a wunderkind, and was already well known at the age of twenty. Sternheim called him "Fortunate Müller." His first sets of woodcuts, on the themes of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* and Else Lasker-Schüler's *Hebräische Balladen* (Hebrew Ballads), appeared in 1913 and 1914 respectively. His first exhibitions came not long afterward. Between 1917 and 1926 he was among the most prominent contributors to *Die*

Aktion, which transformed itself after 1918 from a literary magazine into a forum for communist ideas.

In 1919 Felixmüller himself joined the Communist party. Sternheim commented in 1923: "Just as van Gogh ripped the aesthetic mask from every landscape and revealed a Nature – of tree, flower, water, sky, moon, and earth – that had vanished from the bourgeois world, so this Müller has unmasked the contemporary human face, and in his pictures the proletarian whom the bourgeoisie long smothered in a conspiracy of silence appears for the first time."

Of all the works that Felixmüller produced during his membership in the Secession, the most important are the double and group portraits. He had a special fascination with private life, as represented by his own family (Fig. 4). One double portrait, *Bei Tisch* (At Table), and two triple portraits, *Familie* (Family) and *Vater und Söhne* (Father and Sons), display semiabstract Cubist forms within a color range, characteristic of Felixmüller's work at this period, of green, yellow, blue, and pink. The step to a multigure composition was taken when he painted the family portrait of the Mendelsohns.



Fig. 4 Conrad Felixmüller, *Ich male meinen Sohn* (I Paint My Son), 1923 (Cat. 56)



Fig. 5 Conrad Felixmüller, *Bildnis Otto Ritsdil* (Portrait of Otto Ritsdil), 1920 (Cat. 49)

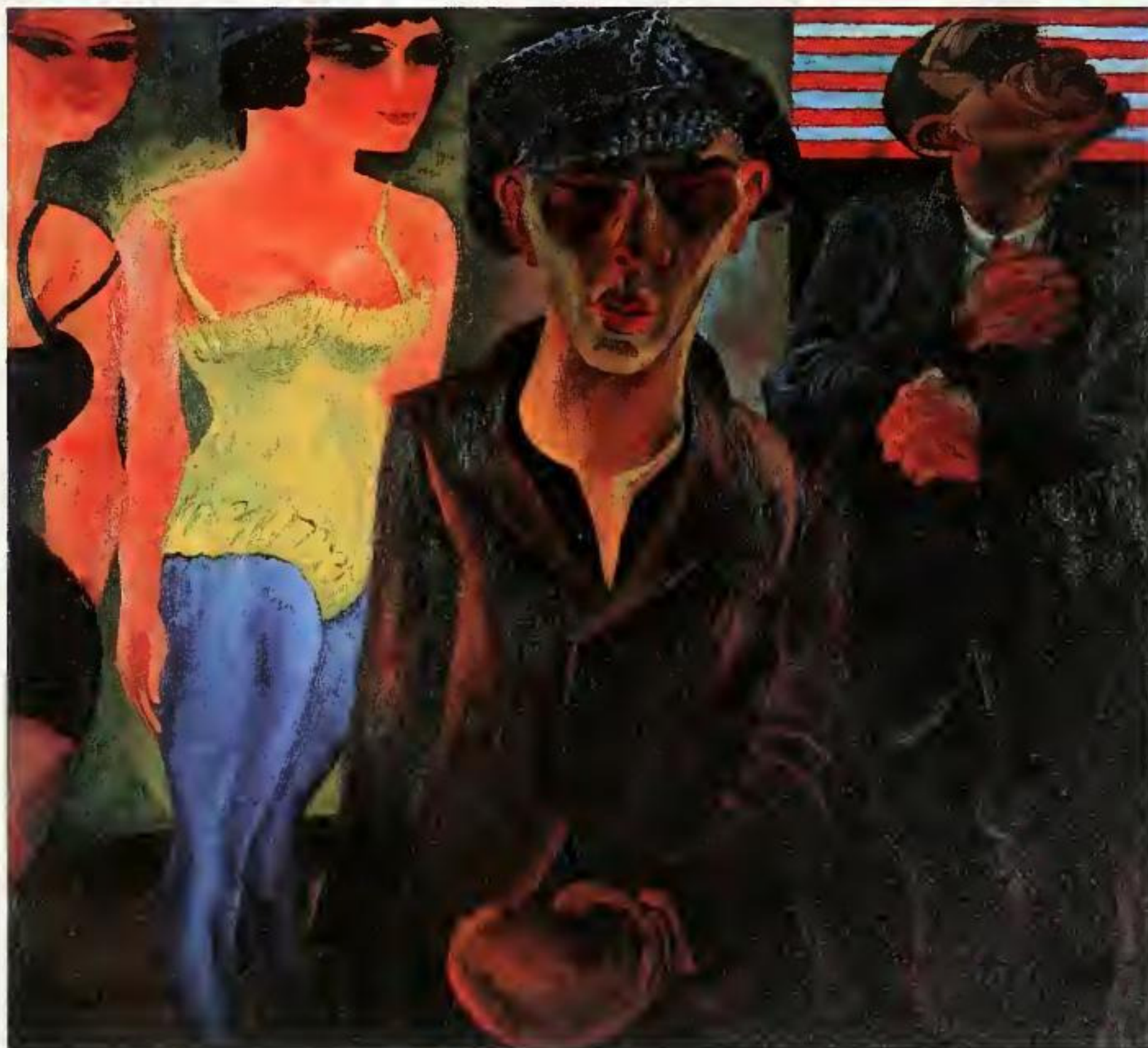


Fig. 6 Conrad Felixmüller, *Der Schaubudenboxer auf der Vogelwiese* (The Exhibition Boxer at the Vogelwiese), 1921 (Cat. 54)

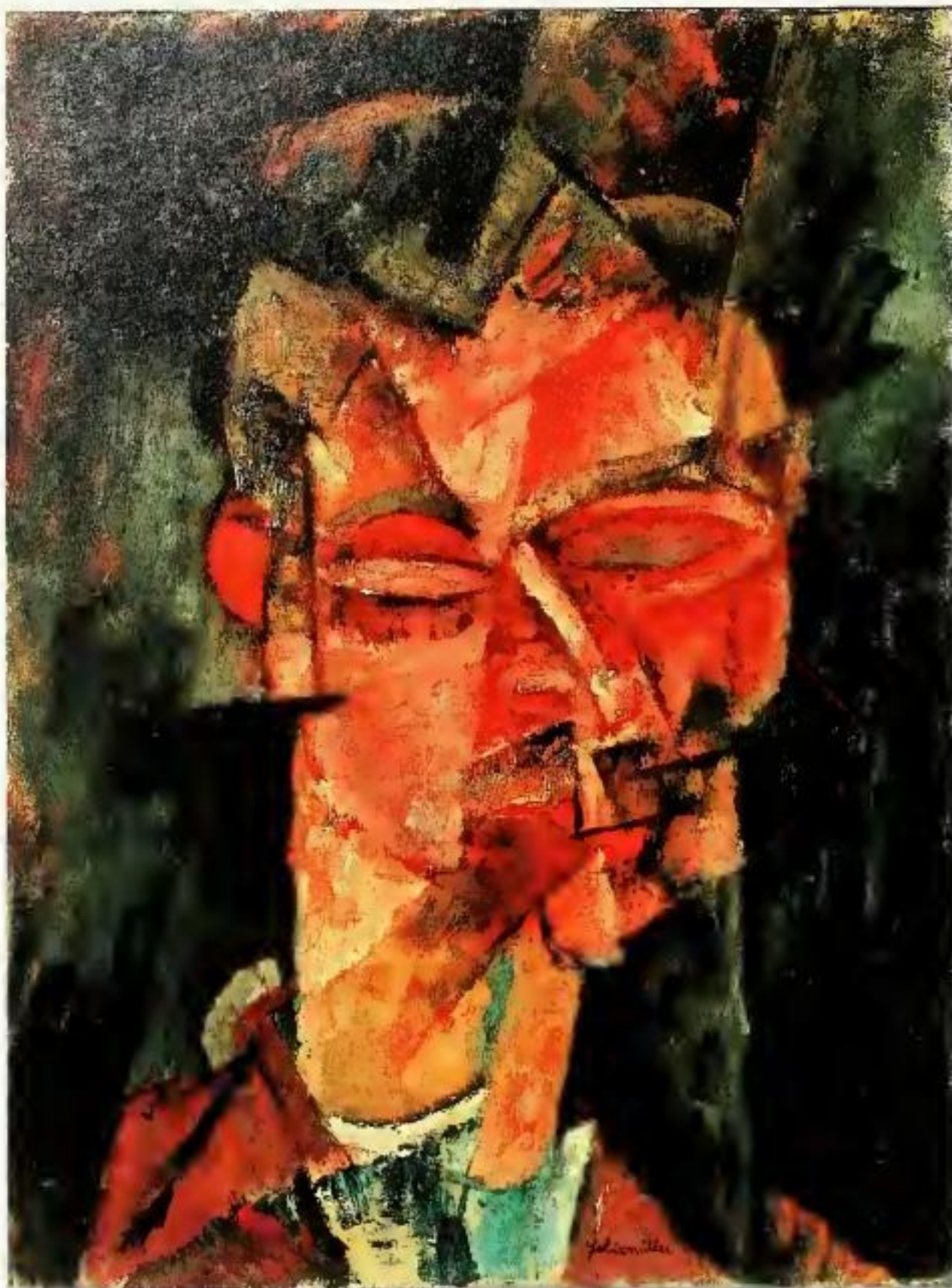


Fig. 7 Conrad Felixmüller, *Bildnis Felix Stierner* (Portrait of Felix Stierner), 1918 (Cat. 44)

At the first Secession exhibition Felixmüller had his greatest success with the painting *Schwangere im Herbstwald* (Pregnant Woman in an Autumn Wood). On the strength of this painting he was awarded the Rome Prize, a travel grant that he used, not to go to Rome, but to visit his brother in the industrial Ruhr district. There he painted the world of labor, and his theme made him the originator of revolutionary painting in Dresden (Fig. 6). The coalfields became, not just background, but an important component of the social narrative. They positively dominate the resulting paintings, in which the laborer is reduced to an ancillary figure in the industrial world of proletarian life.

Felixmüller's most important Expressionist paintings – *Otto Rühle spricht* (Otto Rühle Speaks) and *Tod des Dichters Walter Rheiner* (Death of the Poet Walter Rheiner; frontispiece) – were both done after he left the Secession.

Felixmüller's output of prints and drawings was no less extensive, especially for *Die Aktion*. He supplied the journal with such drawings and woodcuts as *Karl Liebknecht im Zuchthaus* (Karl Liebknecht in Prison), which shows the Communist leader working at a table amid stark contrasts of black and white; *Es lebe die Weltrevolution!* (Long Live World Revolution!); and *Stürzender Demonstrant mit Fahne* (Demonstator Fal-

ling with His Banner). The most important political print of 1919 was the large lithograph *Menschen über der Welt* (Mankind above the World; Fig. 19, p. 24), commemorating the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, showing their full-length figures soaring above the city. There was also a series of portraits of friends, including Felix Stierner (Fig. 7), Raoul and Elfriede Hausmann (Fig. 8), and Otto Ritsdil (Fig. 5). Another notable woodcut was the portrait *Frau mit offenem Haar* (Woman with Her Hair Down). His immense output of drawings can be mentioned only in passing. Here again, portraits predominate.

With his departure from the Secession Felixmüller's formal idiom began a gradual process of change in the direction of realism. A few years later he was to renounce political subject matter. In 1947 he wrote in a letter to the author:

When, after the years of *Sturm und Drang*, my development began to emerge from the constricted world of Expressionism to embrace the bewitching fullness of life itself in all its power, tenderness, inwardness, and beauty – only then did my talent deploy its full artistic power. I came closer to reality. Understandably, many painters were strongly influenced by my motifs and my technical devices. It would be a falsification of artistic life in Dresden if you were to seek to reduce me to my brief period of Expressionism; all



Fig. 8 Conrad Felixmüller, *Bildnis Elfriede Hausmann* (Portrait of Elfriede Hausmann), 1920 (Cat. 47)

the more so because it was not through Expressionism but through my unfolding as a painter, my realism, that I became successful and well known.

Constantin von Mitschke-Collande

"Apart from Mitschke-Collande, I was the only one engaged in political organization, movement, and struggle," Felixmüller remembered. During Mitschke-Collande's membership in the Secession he pursued a form of pictorial dynamism that united elements of the late *Brücke* style and of Cubism. He had been the one who brought Cubist forms back from Paris, where he had studied under Maurice Denis and Fernand Léger. But his political enthusiasm also evaporated when the Secession dissolved and he went his own way. His work moved in the direction of a stylized realism, and soon nothing remained of his revolutionary beginnings.

The outstanding political statement in his considerable output of prints is a series of six woodcuts of 1919, *Der begeisterte Weg* (The Inspired Way; Fig. 9; Fig. 35, p. 33). The title print is followed by a summons to selfless commitment, reinforced by a written message, *Da habt Ihr mich* (Now You Have Me), and followed by *Zur Freiheit* (To Freedom). Other prints include colored illustrations to Klabund's *Montezuma* (1920), and Walter Georg Hartmann's *Die Tiere der Insel* (The Animals of the Island, 1923; Figs. 10-11), in which Mitschke-Collande turned away from contemporary issues to the then-fashionable world of romance.

None of Mitschke-Collande's paintings of this period has survived, so nothing can be said about their color.



Fig. 9 Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, *Der begeisterte Weg* (The Inspired Way), 1919, plate 6 (Cat. 144)

Not long afterward he embarked on the transition to a more realistic pictorial structure. This is exemplified by the print *Selbstporträt mit Hund und weiblicher Figur* (Self-Portrait with Dog and Female Figure) of about 1922, which owes a thematic debt to Marc Chagall, and



Fig. 10 Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, *Die Tiere der Insel* (The Animals of the Island), 1923, plate G (Cat. 145)



Fig. 11 Constantin von Mitschke-Collande, *Die Tiere der Insel* (The Animals of the Island), 1923, plate B (Cat. 145)

the triple portrait *Kinder vor einem Kasperletheater* (Children at a Puppet Show) of 1924. In the final Secession exhibition Mitschke-Collande was represented by three tempera landscape paintings.

Wilhelm Heckrott

All the wedges, zigzags, and comb shapes of the later *Brücke* style reappear in Heckrott's 1919 painting *Maikönigin* (May Queen) in a manner that recalls Erich Heckel's work after 1910. Heckrott had come back from the war to resume his studies at the academy under Bantzer and Emanuel Hegenbarth. As a pupil of Hegenbarth, his pictorial ideas tended to revolve around animals, especially horses and cattle. A second painting of the same year, *Der Hirte* (The Shepherd), has an overall structure modeled on Chagall. Grohmann commended Heckrott for a painting entitled *Zusammenklang von Natur und Kreatur* (Harmony between Nature and Creature) and for his intense use of color.

Heckrott's work as a printmaker also began in 1919, with such woodcuts as *Jagd* (The Hunt), in the zigzag *Brücke* style. But the color woodcuts of the same year are looser in form, and there are already telltale signs of

his close collaboration with his friend Lange. There followed drypoints, utterly simple in outline and frontal in presentation, including portraits, a number of figure compositions, and landscapes. Like other members of the Secession Heckrott also produced book illustrations, including in 1922 a suite of small etchings for Romain Rolland's novel *Colas Breugnot*, in a more markedly narrative pictorial style.

Heckrott's paintings are underpinned by a sure sense of structure, reinforced by a dark, muted palette. The *Atelierbild* (Studio Picture) with self-portrait and semi-nude model is a characteristic example. The last Secession exhibitions included some animal paintings by Heckrott, such as *Kühe am Waldrand* (Cows at the Edge of a Wood) and a series of watercolors with the title *Kuhweide* (Cow Pasture), as well as some landscapes.

The decorative element in his work subsequently came increasingly to the fore, and tapestry designs were to become the primary outlet for his creative impulses and talents.

Otto Lange

Lange was not exclusively a painter; by the time the Secession was formed he had also worked as an interior designer and as an art historian. He was thus a man of exceptional versatility. Nevertheless, his work at the time was more consistent than that of any other member of the Secession. Born in 1879, he belonged to the generation of *Die Brücke*. Accordingly he started out with a late *Brücke* style before developing the near-abstract manner of his barely decipherable painting *Volkslied* (Folksong) of 1919.

During his membership in the Secession the focus of his activity lay in printmaking, both woodcut and drypoint. In his woodcuts he initially favored figure compositions, while his drypoints include many highly individual urban scenes, spare and economical in the use of line. His *Städtische Industrielandschaft* (Industrial Townscape) and *Frankes Eisbahn* (Franke's Skating Rink) represent landmarks in the development of his drypoint style. Religious themes were especially important in Lange's work during these years. *Madonna* and *Kreuzigung I* (Crucifixion I; Fig. 12), as well as *Ver-spottung Christi* (Christ Mocked; Fig. 37, p. 34), are marked by the artist's ability to concentrate on the essence of the action. In the latter Lange shows a mastery of the woodcut medium that is rare among modern printmakers. The surface of the block seems wrenched apart with extraordinary skill to give an unforgettable image of suffering.

Another high point of Lange's work was reached in a succession of large woodcuts to which he added color and which include figure compositions, landscapes, and flower pieces. His watercolors and gouaches present the

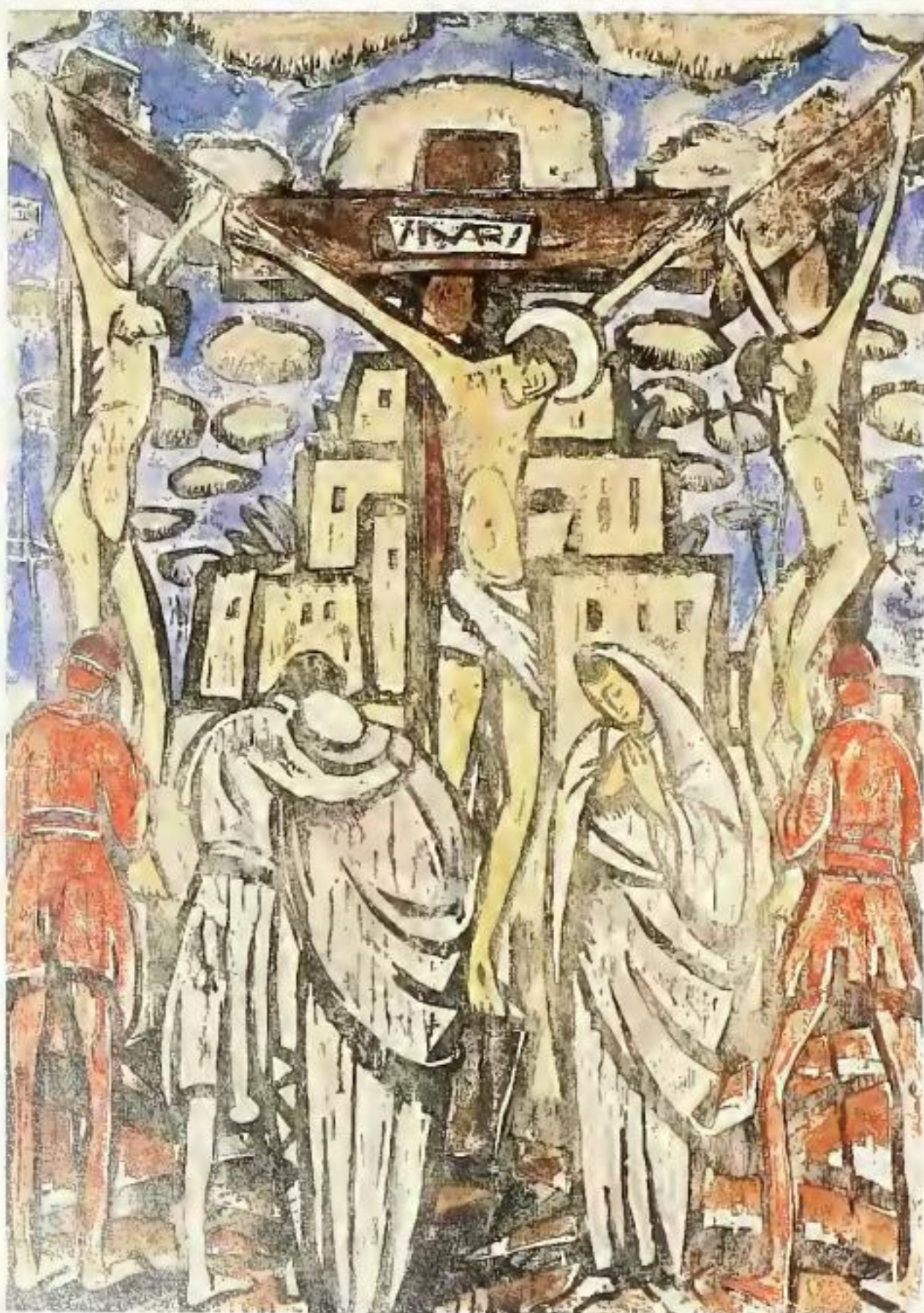


Fig. 12 Otto Lange, *Kreuzigung I* (Crucifixion I), 1916 (Cat. 133)

same combination of sparse drawing and subtle color. Also during his Secession membership he made a portfolio of twenty-one colored woodcuts to illustrate Laurids Bruun's *Van Zantens glückliche Zeit* (Van Zanten's Happy Time), which was his contribution to the contemporary cult of far-off places. In the last Secession exhibition he showed, among other works, an *Italienische Landschaft* (Italian Landscape) in a restrained Expressionist manner.

Peter August Böckstiegel

Born in Westphalia in 1889, Böckstiegel moved to Dresden in 1913 to pursue his studies at the academy. Back from the war in 1919 he became a founding member of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*. His work shows him to have been a painter whose temperament kept him close to Nature. Basing his work on the central experience of his encounter with van Gogh, he used a heavy impasto and sweeping brush strokes to evoke the lush landscape and the looming figures of the people of Westphalia (Figs. 13-14). Whatever he touched – painting, printmaking, or terra-cotta sculpture – bears witness to the elemental vitality of his creative impulses. In his woodcuts he deployed a simple, powerful line.

Böckstiegel divided his working time between Westphalia and Dresden. He remained close to the agricultural landscape all his life, and he was not enough of a townsman to succumb, during the one year he spent as a



Fig. 13 Peter August Böckstiegel, *Die Mutter* (The Mother), c. 1915 (Cat. 15)



Fig. 14 Peter August Böckstiegel, *Auszug der Jünglinge in den Krieg, Studie* (Departure of the Youngsters for War, Study), 1914 (Cat. 14)

member of the Secession, to the intellectual communism of his brother-in-law Felixmüller and his painter friends. Even so in 1921 he designed a poster for IAH (*Internationale Arbeiterhilfe*, International Workers' Aid), a body promoting solidarity with the cause of labor.

Only one work from 1919, done after Böckstiegel joined the Secession, is still known to us: a figure group titled *Singende Kinder am Meer* (Children Singing by the Sea), largely executed in the Secession style, with a background dominated by the moon and stars. A second painting, *Offenbarung* (Revelation), is known only by its title. Also lost are woodcuts with the highly characteristic period titles of *Die Wanderer des Lebens* (The Wanderers of Life) and *Klage der Frauen* (The Women's Lament). His major graphic statements belong to the ensuing years.

Otto Schubert

When the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* formed, Schubert had just concluded his academic studies under Otto Gussmann, and in his one year with the group he was one of its weakest representatives. There is no sign of social comment in any of his work. The painting *Nacht der Geburt* (Birthnight) is filled with a chaotic jumble of forms. He gave other paintings the titles *Märzspaziergang* (A Stroll in March), *Ostern* (Easter), and *Der heilige Sebastian* (Saint Sebastian; Fig. 15). Grohmann remarked of him: "His idiom does not yet correspond to entirely painterly techniques of representation."

It was not long, however, before Julius Meier-Graefe discovered Schubert for his graphic circle, the *Marées-Gesellschaft* (Marées Society), and published a portfolio of prints. And indeed, Schubert's prints are more interesting on the whole than his paintings. A woodcut such



Fig. 15 Otto Schubert, *Der heilige Sebastian* (St. Sebastian), c. 1918 [Cat. 179]

Fig. 16 Otto Schubert, *Das Leiden der Pferde im Krieg* (The Suffering of Horses in the War), 1919 [Cat. 178]

Fig. 17 Otto Schubert, *Ich liebe Dich* (I Love You), 1919, woodcut, 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (16.3 x 15.3 cm), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies



as *Ich liebe Dich* (I Love You; Fig. 17) is essentially more realistic and dispenses with the Cubist accents. Also during his Secession year he produced 24 *Lithographien vom Krieg im Westen* (24 Lithographs of the War in the West) and *Das Leiden der Pferde im Krieg* (The Suffering of Horses in the War; Fig. 16). A series of ten woodcuts on Heinrich von Kleist's comedy *Der zerbrochene Krug* (The Broken Pitcher) followed in 1920. The etchings include *Verkündigung* (Annunciation) and *Lustmörder* (Sex Murderer), the latter no doubt inspired by Dix's etching with the same title. In the years that followed, Schubert's work tended increasingly to evoke a Saxon bourgeois idyll.

Lasar Segall

In the midst of all these progressive and enlightened Saxons there appears the figure of Segall, born in Vilna, Lithuania, in 1891, the son of a Torah scribe, steeped in immemorial piety, as fantastic a dreamer as Chagall, his spiritual kinsman from Vitebsk. In Vilna he found no one to teach him, so he moved to Berlin and then, in 1910, to Dresden to join Gotthardt Kuehl's master class. After traveling as far afield as Brazil, he returned to Dresden in 1913. Here he was overtaken by the outbreak of war, with all the unpleasantness that that entailed for him as a Russian subject. In 1919 he was a founding member of the Secession.

Segall's prints, like his paintings, were very different from those of the other members of the Secession. His delicate, economical drawings, with their recurrent theme of forsaken, outcast humanity, evoke his homeland rather than the situation in Dresden and contrast with the massive black-and-white blocks of the other Secession artists. Outsize heads with startled eyes and diminutive bodies, most of them divorced from a spatial context, are typical of his drawing in the early Secession years. As befitted his artistic importance, Segall was represented in the first Secession portfolio by two prints, the lithograph *Blindes Kind* (Blind Child) and the woodcut *Witwe mit Kind* (Widow with Child).

Theodor Däubler gave his interpretation of these prints in his own inimitable poetic form: "Very simple, stark and pallid, timid and tender, this young artist can lisp his warnings to us. In a few lines, a cosmic art."

Segall's tendency to soften Expressionist forms in favor of a heightened realism is visible also in the two series of lithographs done in 1920 for Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Die Sanfte* (The Gentle Soul) and David Bergelson's *Jiddische Erzählungen* (Yiddish Tales).

"Everywhere and every day it is man, and man's utter dependence on others and on God, that impels him to self-torturing confrontations. Beggars, starvelings, emigrants, persecuted Jews, the sick, the dying, the exhausted, all those who labor and are burdened down,



Fig. 18 Lasar Segall, *Paul Ferdinand Schmidt*, 1921, oil on canvas, 24¾ x 20½ in. (62.8 x 52 cm), private collection

once more become his companions." That is how Grohmann summarized Segall's subject matter.

The paintings are composed in much the same way as the drawings and prints, with the same outsize heads and diminutive bodies. All Segall's paintings of this period are marked by a dark palette dominated by gray and brown. Three paintings of 1919 are particularly noteworthy: *Totengebet* (Prayer for the Dead), the three-figure *Familie* (Family), and *Witwe* (Widow). Paul F. Schmidt bought a large group composition, *Ewige Wanderer* (Eternal Wanderers), from the second Secession exhibition for the Stadtmuseum in Dresden. It was confiscated, along with many drawings and prints, by the Nazis in 1937.

In 1920 the paintings became more realistic. This is exemplified by *Krankenstube* (Sickroom) and above all by *Witwe mit Sohn* (Widow with Son), a painting that took up the theme of the 1919 print. Schmidt wrote that these new works were mature paintings in which Segall's steadfast tranquillity was once more coming to the fore.

In 1921 Segall painted a portrait of Schmidt himself, full length, with an empty picture frame in one hand and Segall's own painting *Ewige Wanderer* in the background (Fig. 18). In the same year Dix painted his portrait of Schmidt seated on a chair. In spite of the utterly contrasting personalities of the two artists, these frontal portraits are remarkably similar.

Segall, who normally kept out of politics, wrote some instructions for the teaching of art in the *Dresdner Arbeiter-Kunstgemeinschaft* (Dresden Workers' Art Association): "The basic idea in the teaching of the drawing school must be: everyone must transcend what is outwardly true (interesting) in favor of what is necessary (inwardly true). Everyone should be encouraged to grasp only the essential within himself and express it in the form that is personally necessary to him."

Otto Dix

The van Gogh and Sturm exhibitions at Galerie Arnold influenced the style of Dix, who had hitherto painted landscapes in an Impressionist manner, although his 1912 and 1913 self-portraits were consciously modeled on the Italian old masters in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. The encounter with van Gogh transformed his style from 1913 onward, both in the use of color and to some extent in subject matter. The composition *Selbstbildnis als Raucher* (Self-Portrait as Smoker; Fig. 19) belongs in this context although painted in 1912. In 1914 van Gogh's influence became even more marked: the impasto became heavier, the compositions simpler and more specific, as in *Nächtliches Haus I, II* (House at Night I, II) and above all in *Gefängnis in Dresden* (Prison in Dresden) and *Billardspieler* (Billiard Players), with their effects of light. In the same year he painted a series of portraits of fellow students at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Arts and Crafts). Related works depict the head and hand of a nun, whom Dix places in a Gothic architectural setting, and the three-quarter-length figure of a working-class boy.

At the end of 1914 pure Futurist forms made a sudden appearance in *Das Geschütz* (The Gun), to be followed in 1915 by the *Selbstbildnis als Mars* (Self-Portrait as Mars; Fig. 9, p. 45) and the *Sterbender Krieger*



Fig. 19 Otto Dix, *Selbstbildnis als Raucher* (Self-Portrait as Smoker), 1913, oil on paper, 27 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (70 x 56 cm), private collection, FRG



Fig. 20 Otto Dix, *Leuchtkugel* (Signal Flare), 1917, (Cat. 22)

(Dying Warrior). These were the last pictures Dix painted before his years of military service, and their formal idiom reappears in the large quantity of figure drawings that he produced concurrently.

A unique and self-contained chapter in Dix's artistic career is represented by his hundreds of war drawings, all in the same format and in a variety of media: pencil, ink, and above all wash. After realistic and essentially documentary beginnings, Dix adopted Expressionist and Futurist interpretations of events in 1916. Even more notable than the drawings is the sequence of gouaches. Taken as a whole, this body of work constitutes the most significant of all artistic responses to World War I (Figs. 20-21). His *Krieger mit Pfeife* (Soldier with Pipe; Fig. 1) is a highly charged, explosive portrait, bristling with an intensity fueled by the war.

In January 1919 Dix hastened to Dresden with a painting titled *Sehnsucht* (Longing; Fig. 23) under his arm. It is to Felixmüller's credit that he recruited Dix to the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*. Dix regularly submitted paintings to its exhibitions until the fall of 1922, when he moved to Düsseldorf. Initially he continued painting in his Futuro-Expressionist vein. He was next influenced by the Russian Cubo-Futurists and then turned to Dada. But when he realized that these resources would never enable him to do what he wanted, he began to develop from 1920 onward into a great realist, one of the major representatives of Verism and *Neue Sachlichkeit*, which supplanted Expressionism in all its forms.

At first Dix's new works disconcerted even the other members of the Secession. In his foreword to the 1919 exhibition catalogue devoted to the group's prints

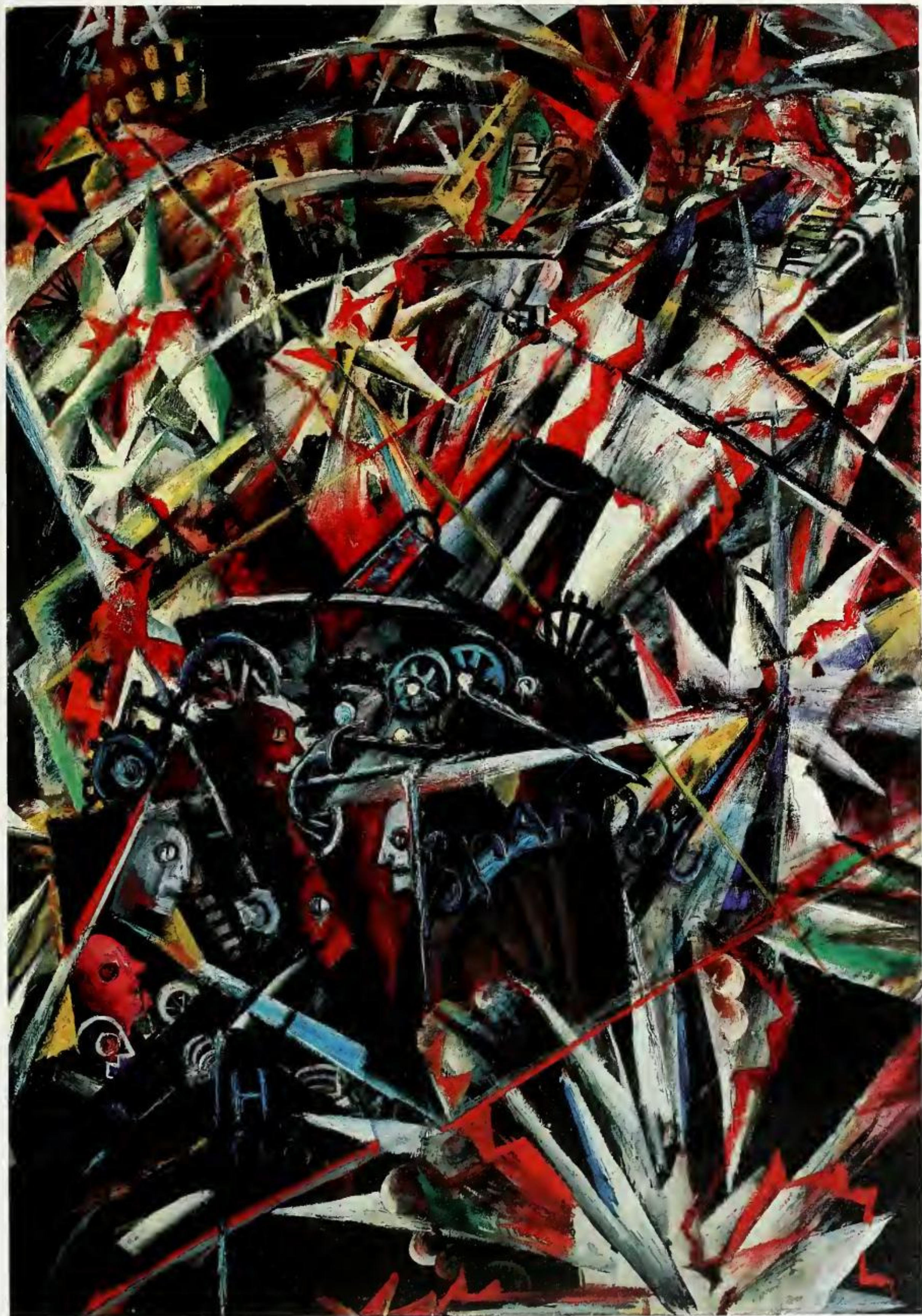


Fig. 21 Otto Dix, *Der Krieg* (War), 1914 (Cat. 20)



Fig. 22 Otto Dix, *Leda*, 1919 (Cat. 30)

Grohmann introduced Dix this way: "Otto Dix appeared at Easter with brutal force, and all sorts of expectations were aroused. At the moment he is laughing heartily at himself, at art, and at us. Let us leave him to it; something will surely occur to him."

Five paintings of 1919 serve to define Dix's Expressionist period. Their titles are *Leda* (Fig. 22), *Schwangeres Weib* (Pregnant Woman), *Mondweib* (Moon Woman), *Auferstehung des Fleisches* (Resurrection of the Flesh), and *Prometheus*, a self-portrait. The first four convey erotic messages of enormous vehemence with "something cosmic about them." They were reproduced in *Menschen*. Grohmann, again, provided his interpretation. They were, he said, "the ultimate distillation of his memories, not analyses, the delirium of life, the dancing bewitchment of color. You can turn his paintings upside down; they still work. That is how pure a representation of emotion his art is." Zehder takes up the description: "He swings the brush like an ax, and every stroke is a yell of color. The world to him is Chaos in the throes of giving birth." And that, indeed, is how Felixmüller painted Dix in 1920 (Fig. 1, p. 10).

The same artistic attitude can be traced in Dix's earliest prints, which appeared in 1919. Like the other members of the Secession, he began with woodcuts. Titles include *Geburtsstunde* (The Hour of Birth), *Der Kuss* (The Kiss), *Leben auf der Strasse* (Street Life), and *Der Schrei* (The Scream). They make up a number of portfolios, the earliest of which bears the significant title *Werden* (Becoming). Also dating from 1919 but not incorporated in a portfolio, is a Nietzschean self-portrait, a head with the inscription *Ich bin das A und das O* (I Am the Alpha and the Omega). A second print has the simple title *Ich* (I). All the prints show signs of Expressionist distortion, but they are stylistically quite distinct from those of the other members of the Secession. Dix never used woodcut again.

The last part of 1919 and the whole of 1920 constituted Dix's "Dada year," a phase in which humor was a prime ingredient.

Dix, the combat veteran, was preoccupied above all with the aftereffects of war. In 1920 he painted four large pictures, *Kriegskrüppel* (War Cripples), *Prager Strasse*, *Streichholzhändler I* (Matchseller I), and *Die Skatspieler* (The Skat Players; Fig. 27, p. 28). The painting *Kriegskrüppel*, once again, incorporates a self-portrait. Dix was already laying in the large painting *Der Schützengraben* (The Trench; Fig. 19, p. 93), which he did not complete until 1923, after the move to Düsseldorf, and which, in contrast to the other works mentioned, was painted in a heavy impasto.

Dix's paintings of cripples were ill received, and the press was no less outraged by his paintings of whores and brothels. When *Das Mädchen vor dem Spiegel* (The Girl at the Mirror) was shown in Berlin, he was actually prosecuted for an offense against public morals.



Fig. 23 Otto Dix, *Sehnsucht* (Longing), 1918 (Cat. 27)

In 1919 Dix had the worst press of any member of the Secession. His response, as reported by Felixmüller, was to say: "If I can't be famous, I want at least to be infamous."

Alongside all these paintings and prints, Dix produced hundreds of drawings, all exclusively figural in content. In those few years he grew into one of the supreme German draftsmen of the twentieth century. In 1920 he embarked on his huge output of watercolors, which reached its apogee in Düsseldorf in 1923 and comprises nearly five hundred works. Here he could give free rein to his imagination. What is more, this was a medium in which he could work fast enough to earn a living at a time when the value of money was constantly dwindling.

Otto Griebel

Griebel came from Meerane, a village near Gera, and his development followed a course very similar to that of Dix, who was his senior by four years. After serving an apprenticeship as a house painter, he went on to the Kunstgewerbeschule in Dresden and began to produce his first paintings. From 1915 to 1918 he was a soldier and returned to become a member of Robert Sterl's master class. Only after leaving Sterl in 1922 did Griebel join the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*. His first group show was at the Galerie Emil Richter in 1919.

That year Griebel embarked on a series of works that echo the Expressionism of the Secession painters as well as their Cubism. This is exemplified by his few surviving watercolors of that year, such as *Nachtgang* (Night



Fig. 24 Walter Jacob, *Alte Frau* (Old Woman), 1920 (Cat. 108)



Fig. 25 Walter Jacob, *Selbst* (Self), 1920 (Cat. 113)

Walk), *Blauer Ausgang* (Blue Exit), and *Pessimistische Sinfonie* (Pessimistic Symphony), by a self-portrait drawing, and by *Zehn Themen* (Ten Themes), a portfolio of ten hand-colored lithographs that Griebel produced in collaboration with the Prague composer Erwin Schulhof, a friend of Dix's who was at the time resident in Dresden.

The year 1920 belonged to Griebel and Dix together. They were the leading representatives of Dada in Dresden. Griebel made caustic, satirical collages, including his *Dadaistisches Selbstbildnis* (Dadaist Self-Portrait). The collage *Hiawatha tanzt* (Hiawatha Dances) is thematically akin to the painting *An die Schönheit* (To Beauty) by Dix; it was common for Dix, Griebel, Kretzschmar, and others to take up identical or related themes. But Griebel, unlike Dix, used Dada to make political propaganda statements, as in his *Brotbild* (Bread Picture), which depicts the misery of those years of inflation.

Nineteen twenty also witnessed Griebel's adoption of a Veristic pictorial style, which he continued to use to convey social and political messages. The painting *Vierte Klasse* (Fourth Class), of which a *Dresdner Nachrichten* reporter wrote that "the political content outweighs the artistic value," was bought by the Saxon state government. From 1921 the watercolor began to dominate his work and by 1923 it had become completely veristic. Also in 1923, Griebel painted a number of brothel scenes.

Walter Jacob

Jacob also returned from the war to study at the academy from 1919 to 1921. He joined the Secession in 1920, after the exodus of Felixmüller and his friends. Jacob's prints of 1920, such as the woodcuts *Alte Frau* (Old Woman; Fig. 24) and *Selbst* (Self; Fig. 25), are completely in keeping with the general formal tenor of Secession art. Such oil paintings as *Das jüngste Gericht* (The Last Judgment; Fig. 31, p. 30) of 1920 and watercolors such as *Landschaft mit Türmen* (Landscape with Towers) of 1924 reveal the influence of his studio neighbor, Kokoschka.

Gela Forster

Born Angelika Schmitz in Berlin, Forster was the only woman, and the only sculptor, among the founding members of the Secession. Nothing is known of her artistic development before or after the two exhibitions of 1919. In 1921 she participated in the hundredth exhibition in the Galerie Der Sturm along with her future husband, Archipenko, with whom she moved to New York in 1923.

In the first Secession exhibition she was represented by three works: *Empfängnis* (Conception; Fig. 26), *Erwachen* (Awakening; Fig. 27), and *Der Mann* (The Man; Fig. 28). In the second exhibition she showed a sculpture, *Pyramide* (Pyramid), which seems to have depicted a man and a woman. Forster's sculptures belong to the late Dresden Expressionist style. Mostly anonymous torsos, these near-lifesize works in plaster reflect fundamental categories of female experience and mark a revolt "against all that is there" (Däubler). In their compressed forms and emphatic sculptural manner they are close to Dix's *Mondweib* of 1919, and she "borrows the hardness of the sculptural formulations from Negro sculpture" (Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg). Däubler wrote of her works: "The whole figure culminates in a scream."

Another poet, Alfred Günther, wrote an introduction to her work that includes the following passage: "This woman's sculptures demand the ultimate. They have ravished natural forms and transcended Nature. Gela Forster's daring is rewarded, because she is able to animate her creations with the sensuality that surges within these forms."

Kaemmerer, writing in *Der Cicerone*, was of the definite opinion that Forster's works were among the most extraordinary sculptural achievements of her generation.



Fig. 26 Gela Forster, *Empfängnis* [Conception], stone, lost



Fig. 27 Gela Forster, *Erwachen* [Awakening], stone, lost



Fig. 28 Gela Forster, *Der Mann* [The Man], stone, lost



Fig. 29 Eugen Hoffmann, *Kopf* (Head), 1919, plate 4 (Cat. 104)

Eugen Hoffmann

After the war Hoffmann returned to the academy to join Karl Albiker's master class, remaining a member until 1923. He was a guest exhibitor at the second Secession exhibition with four untitled Expressionist woodcuts and a sculpture titled *Mädchenkopf* (Girl's Head). This was probably the *Mädchen mit blauem Haar und roten Brüsten* (Girl with Blue Hair and Red Breasts), a work in colored plaster. At the same time he produced a small carving, *Joseph und Potiphar* (Joseph and Potiphar), which was also polychrome. In 1937 both works were to be prominently displayed in the Nazi exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art). In these figures Hoffmann attempted, after *Die Brücke*, to restore color, as used in the Middle Ages, to sculpture. The woodcuts shown in 1919 were heads, including a self-portrait in a few sharply contrasting blocks of black and white (Figs. 29-30). One of these heads seems to have been inspired by Alexei Jawlensky, whose work was on show at the same time in the Sturm exhibition at the Galerie Arnold. Also in 1919 Hoffmann supplied a cover woodcut for *Die Aktion*, titled *Der Krieg* (The War), which is entirely in keeping with the zigzag Secession style.

In 1920 Hoffmann became a member of the Secession. In 1921 he had nine works in the Secession exhibition that toured to Brno, Prague, and Kosice. He was represented not only in the 1923 Secession exhibition but also in the *Erste Allgemeine Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (First General German Art Exhibition) in Moscow in 1924. He also produced watercolors, one of



Fig. 30 Eugen Hoffmann, *Das Paar* (The Couple), 1919 (Cat. 105)

which, a seminude figure of 1922 with the title *O, stille meine Pein* (Oh, Ease my Torment), is related to the works in this medium that Dix was doing at the same time.

Before long, however, the influence of Hoffmann's teacher, Albiker, who worked in the tradition of Adolf von Hildebrandt, Auguste Rodin, and Aristide Maillol, asserted itself, and he reverted to a classical, realist idiom. His portrait busts are particularly clear indications of this change to a classical version of *Neue Sachlichkeit*.

Christoph Voll

Born in Munich in 1897, Voll was apprenticed to a sculptor there and did war service before coming to Dresden, like most of his fellow members of the Secession, to spend three years studying at the academy. Academic instruction had nothing more to offer him, as it turned out, but at the academy he received encouragement and help from Albiker, Kokoschka, and Sterl.

In 1919 he produced a number of drypoints with a very simple linear structure. In his woodcuts, by contrast, he gouged the lines from the block. A particularly noteworthy example from 1919, *Betende Dirne* (Praying Whore), shows a prostitute kneeling over a church. He produced a large number of drawings, many of them studies for sculpture. Several drawings by Voll, including a self-portrait, are to be found in the visitors' book of Dr. Fritz Glaser, in which the lawyer's guests had the



Fig. 31 Christoph Voll, *Arbeiterfrau mit Kind* (Working Woman with Child), 1923 (Cat. 195)



Fig. 32 Christoph Voll, *Arbeiter mit Kind* (Worker with Child), c. 1922 (Cat. 194)

pleasant custom of expressing their thanks for his hospitality through collaborative, and often humorous, works of art. One of these is *Kollektiv Kunstwerk* (Collective Artwork), drawn in 1921 by Voll and Dix.

Voll's work as a sculptor includes portrait busts, full-length figures, and nudes. Children play a prominent part. The overall atmosphere is sad and wistful, with a marked element of social comment. Voll's wood sculptures were realistic from the start, although their expressive power is in itself unmistakably Expressionist. Carved mostly of oak, the figures show the traces of the sculptor's hard work with the chisel. It is very rare for even a part of a figure to be polished, and this endows these mainly large works with something immediate, straightforward, even monumental. *Arbeiter mit Kind* (Worker with Child, c. 1922; Fig. 32), *Arbeiterfrau mit Kind* (Working Woman with Child; Fig. 31) and *Adam und Eva* (Adam and Eve), both 1923, and *Ecce Homo* (1924-25; Fig. 3, p. 59) are characteristic examples dating from Voll's Dresden period.

Ludwig Godenschweg

Godenschweg was the third sculptor to join the Secession in 1920. We do not know what he showed in any of the Secession exhibitions, and he missed the last one.

Born in 1889, Godenschweg had studied under Robert Diez at the academy before leaving for military service. On his return he became Albiker's student. Schmidt called Godenschweg's contribution to the third Secession exhibition "competent and promising." Portrait busts, such as *Wilhelm Rudolph* (terra-cotta, c. 1923) and *Volkmar Glaser*, and small-scale works, like the self-portrait *Ziegenmelker* (Man Milking a Goat), show him to be an artist schooled in the representation of reality. He also created a number of etchings that show a decidedly Expressionist formal vocabulary.

Bernhard Kretzschmar

The *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* might easily have included Kretzschmar, especially as at the time of its foundation he was friendly with Felixmüller, and he and Böckstiegel remained lifelong friends. The obstacle to his joining was not artistic but political: it was Felixmüller's work for the Communist party. The Expressionist period in Kretzschmar's work was no more than a brief episode, 1919-20, one to which he himself later attached little importance. Kretzschmar's change of style in 1919 was no doubt precipitated by a visit to Marburg, where he used lithography for the first time, painting woodcutlike blocks of color directly onto the stone.



Fig. 33 Bernhard Kretzschmar, *Untitled (Birth)*, 1919 (Cat. 129)

After this excursion into woodcut and lithography, Kretzschmar turned back to the etching medium, with which he had begun his artistic career and which he was to practice until the end of his life. A portfolio of four etchings titled *Konfessionen* (Confessions) appeared in 1921 with a foreword by Heinar Schilling, who also published the collective portfolio by Dix and the other members of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*. The most notable prints in *Konfessionen* are those with the titles *Mein Leben* (My Life), *Flucht* (Flight), *Hunger*, and *Prediger* (Preacher). These titles are very much of the period, but they are also reminiscent of Kretzschmar's childhood in the Saxon town of Doebein. The dark areas are created by closely packed hatchings, and in contrast to the etchings of later years there are no firm outlines. The line seems agitated.

In contrast to Kretzschmar's prints and drawings, the development of his painting in 1919-20 can be followed through only a few examples. On his return to Dresden in 1919 he painted two pictures that are unique in his entire output, both because they are the most abstract he ever painted and because they show a completely

altered color range. The larger of the two he titled *Ein frischer Morgenwind* (A Fresh Morning Wind); the other remained untitled, although it may represent birth (Fig. 33). It is surprisingly close to Dix's painting *Schwangeres Weib*, of the same year. Both works remained in Kretzschmar's possession until his death.

Kretzschmar's 1920 paintings reveal a moderate form of Expressionism that corresponds to the style of his prints and drawings and also to the work of several members of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*. Two small paintings, *Die Flucht nach Ägypten* (The Flight into Egypt) and the symbolic *Werden – Vergehen* (Becoming – Passing Away), have survived quite by chance; they are presumably characteristic examples of the work of his Expressionist period, which Kretzschmar destroyed, according to his own account, because he felt it to be incompatible with his later development. In Kretzschmar's work after 1921 his rejection of Expressionism in favor of a new realism became total.

Oskar Kokoschka

Kokoschka cannot be counted as a member of the second generation of Dresden Expressionists. In spite of his



Fig. 34 Oskar Kokoschka, *Bildnis Walter Hasenclever* (Portrait of Walter Hasenclever), 1918, lithograph, 24 3/8 x 16 1/4 in. (62 x 41.3 cm), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

teaching post at the academy, he remained a guest and an outsider, an isolated phenomenon in the unfolding of Expressionism in Dresden.

In 1916 Kokoschka turned his back on Vienna, where things were not going his way at all, and applied for a post as a professor at the academy in Dresden, with the idea that this would free him from further military service. In a letter of that year he asked the collector Ida Bienert to use her influence to this end. Her intervention was unsuccessful. Kokoschka went back to being a soldier in the Austrian army and did not arrive in Dresden until 1917, when he entered the Weisser Hirsch sanatorium to recuperate from his wounds. Soon afterward he moved to the nearby Villa Felsenburg, where he surrounded himself with an extensive circle of friends, notably writers, including Walter Hasenclever and Ivar von Lücken, and actors. He worked on revising his one-act plays, and in 1917 he put on a performance of his dramatic poem *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murder, Hope of Women).

Kokoschka obtained his professorship at the academy in 1919 and kept it until 1924, when he left Dresden forever. The years in Dresden were, after those in Vienna, the most creative of Kokoschka's career. Never again did he produce such a large and technically diverse body of major works.

His professorship at the academy was a momentous development in itself. As far as Dresden was concerned, he became and remained the prime representative of Expressionism and a teacher who taught his few stu-

dents in a totally unacademic spirit. Three of these students whose work showed Expressionist features for a number of years as a result of Kokoschka's influence subsequently made names for themselves: Friedrich Karl Gotsch, Jochen Heuer, and Hans Meyboden. He also exerted a strong influence on two other Dresden painters: Jacob and Willi Kriegel.

Kokoschka remained a unique phenomenon in Dresden, but his five views of the city, painted from his studio overlooking the River Elbe, nevertheless have a place within a local tradition. In them he continued the work of the Impressionist Kuehl and of the *Elbier-Gruppe* (Elbier Group). These views of Dresden led to the views of great European cities that made up a large part of his output in the years following his departure from Dresden in 1924.

Along with the paintings, he produced a large body of drawings, mainly portraits, done in large formats and in varied techniques, including lithography. Outstanding examples are the portraits of the actress Käthe Richter, of Hasenclever (Fig. 34), and of Max Reinhardt. He also created a number of watercolors, mostly of nudes.

Other Painters

Carl Lohse made an individual contribution to Dresden Expressionism in the powerful contrasts of pure color that mark his series, *Köpfe* (Heads), begun in 1919, as well as in a monumental plaster sculpture, *Monumen-*



Fig. 35 Carl Lohse, *Monumentaler Kopf* (Monumental Head), 1919-20 (Cat. 138)



Fig. 36 Edmund Kesting, *Dorf mit Spinne* (Village with Spider), 1920 (Cat. 119)

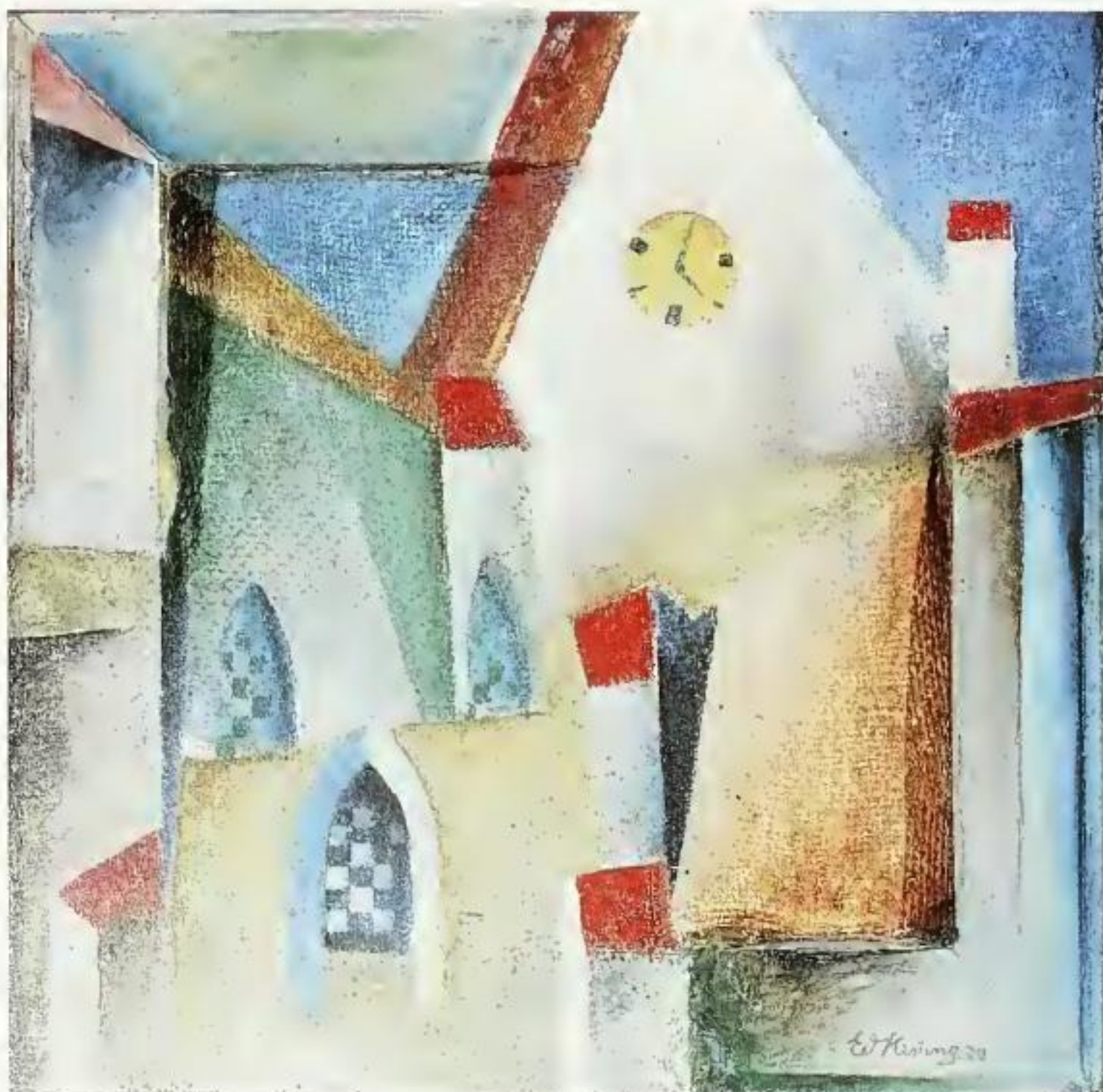


Fig. 37 Edmund Kesting, *Kirche* (Church), 1920 (Cat. 120)

taler Kopf (Monumental Head; Fig. 35). Fritz Winkler looked to the example of Edvard Munch, both in his brush drawings and in his oils and watercolors. He was one artist who retained an expressive element in his work after 1925, when the Expressionist period in Dresden was a thing of the past.

A succession of other Dresden painters returned from the war, with its enforced silence, to pay passing homage to the dominant trend represented by the new style. Among those who were later to play a part in the history

of art in Dresden – but as representatives of quite different styles – were Wilhelm Rudolph, who studied under Bantzer; Paul Wilhelm, who studied under Kuehl; and Erich Fraass.

One further name that should be mentioned in this connection is that of Edmund Kesting, the first Dresden painter to make use of Constructivist elements in his work (Figs. 36–37). He founded a school of his own, *Der Weg* (The Way), in emulation of Herwarth Walden's *Der Sturm* (The Storm).

Notes

- 1 Expressionism's obituary was written by Goll, the last editor of *Menschen*, in 1921:

What is being rumored, smirked at, guessed at, is true. Once more, an art is dying at the hands of the age that has betrayed it. Whether the art or the age is to blame is beside the point. If one wanted to be critical, however, it would be possible to show that Expressionism is dying of that same lousy revolution whose motherly oracle it wanted to be. And the latter aspect explains the former: that is to say, Expressionism as a whole was not an art form but an attitude. More of a worldview, rather than the object of an artistic need.

It was not until 1977 that the group, which had played so central a role in the Dada and Expressionist art of the years that followed World War I, and indeed in the creation of a new realism, became the subject of a historical overview. This took the form of a traveling exhibition organized by Dr. Emilio Bertoni at the Galleria del Levante in Munich. It closed the following year at the Galleria del Levante in Milan, having succeeded in reestablishing the significance of Dresden's contribution to the history of German art in the first half of the twentieth century.



Fig. 1 Gert Wollheim, *Der Verwundete* (The Wounded Man), 1919 [Cat. 200]

Das Junge Rheinland in Dusseldorf 1919-1929

The Summit of Mount Expressionism: A Beginning before the End

The consciousness of the younger artists of the generation of the first Expressionist decade bore the mark of a contradictory experience. Their passionate espousal of a new image of humanity, their visual grasp of a new sensibility attuned to life itself, had been followed by the experience of a world war predicated on total contempt for humanity. What is known as Modernism – the art which from the beginning of this century, in absolute contrast to the illusionism of the European tradition, acquired the capacity to give immediate expression through form and color to a spontaneous perception and emotion “right now” – could become truly modern only when artistic creation was brought into contact with the history, society, and politics of the age.

In 1919, in the foreword to his anthology *Menschheitsdämmerung – Ein Dokument des Expressionismus* (Twilight of Mankind: A Document of Expressionism), Kurt Pinthus defined the purpose of Expressionist art: “Man as such, not his private concerns and feelings, but Humanity – that is the true theme.” And in the second edition of the book in 1922 he acknowledged the anticipatory value of an artistic consciousness that had been essentially subjective – “the world begins in Man” – rather than concerned with the reality of society:

Let us therefore remember with respect [the apostles of a movement] who at least willed a great future and confidently believed [their movement] to be the vanguard of a new epoch of mankind. Let them not be mocked or blamed because they turned out to be only the rearguard of an old epoch, and who turned away from the twilight of downfall toward the glow of an imagined dawn, but whose strength failed them before they could march, purified, at the head of their contemporaries into the light.¹

The second generation replaced the “luxurious” and self-indulgent Expressionism of their fathers with new ideas that had been tested in the real world, in the crucible of the historical mission of a revolutionary socialism. The formation of so many artists’ organizations after 1918 shows that these men and women were not loners, they wanted to demonstrate solidarity. Without exception these organizations proclaimed in their inaugural statements that it was the function of art to transform society within the context of a new democratic ordering of cultural life. Every demand for a new democratic and socialist society had to be carried out, using all the resources of revolutionary rhetoric to combat the

resistance of existing power structures. Political reality at the end of World War I, determined by the collapse of the economy and the establishment of a new, democratic social order, obeyed its own laws. From a present-day vantage point the attempt to make art a part of this process by striving for a greater integration of art and everyday life appears new, “modern.”

The idea of freeing art from the regimentation of cultural life by the state, and from the reactionary narrowness of the academies and other bourgeois cultural institutions, never became a reality in a world governed by the rigors of power politics. But the new political consciousness did make it possible for this new freedom to be defined in terms of a democratic society and not only in terms of the artist’s individual integrity. This social reorientation of Expressionist art – from “I” to “we” – was the essential objective of the younger, politically motivated Expressionist generation.

It all began on November 13, 1918, with the artists, architects, and art historians who joined together in the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers’ Council for Art) in Berlin; they included Adolf Behne, Walter Gropius, Käthe Kollwitz, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. They soon joined forces with Otto Dix, Lyonel Feininger, Otto Griebel, George Grosz, Otto Nagel, Max Pechstein, and others in the *Novembergruppe* (November Group). The group’s name proclaims its solidarity with the November Revolution, which had forced the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II; its members announced: “We stand on the ground of the Revolution The *Novembergruppe* is an association of radical artists The *Novembergruppe* seeks, through a united front of all likeminded creative talents, to gain a decisive influence in the settling of all issues concerning art.”²

The *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* (Dresden Secession Group 1919) – which took over from an earlier *Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dresden* (Expressionist Working Group Dresden), an “Expressionist Working Collective” of leftist artists and writers who met from 1917 onward in the studio of Conrad Felixmüller – subscribed to the same objectives, and combined its sociopolitical commitment with organized aid to the dependants of artists killed or disabled in the war.

In Cologne, the *Gesellschaft der Künste* (G.D.K.), or “Arts Company,” included among its leading members

Otto Freundlich, Alfred Gruenwald (J.T. Baargeld), Heinrich Hoerle, Anton Räderscheidt, F.W. Seiwert, and Max Ernst – whose wife, Luise Strauss-Ernst, was its business manager. The *G.D.K.* regarded itself as the “Rhineland Group” of the Berlin *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*. In any case, for all the conservatism of the group’s approach to art – which led to the formation of new, avant-garde groupings in Cologne – it formulated in its program a statement of sociopolitical intentions which included “the transformation of the teaching of art ... establishment of a living contact between art and the people (from grade school onward),” and the highly radical demand for “the purging from the museums of all works whose capacity for life is exhausted.”³

Dusseldorf Beginnings, 1919

The foundation of the artists’ group *Das Junge Rheinland* (The Young Rhineland) in Dusseldorf took place in the context of a deep-seated provincial inferiority complex (Fig. 2). Since the early nineteenth century the re-

gion had had a Prussian administration which behaved more or less like an occupying power. The filling of posts in the administration of the arts with imported Prussian officials, which had led to a split between “Rhinelanders” and “Prussians” even in the heyday of the Dusseldorf Academy, had left such deep scars that the new body named as its principal objective the emancipation of the “Rhineland artistic community” from Prussian “paternalism and cliquishness,” thus considerably diluting its revolutionary potential:

[In order] to win for young Rhineland artists, at long last, the place in German artistic life that is their due, [the group] intends to organize collective touring exhibitions. This is not to lead to the one-sided promotion of any single tendency; the only requirements shall be youth and creative sincerity. Youth, of course, is not a matter of years, but of strength and freshness of artistic endeavor. The cliquish system on which all exhibitions have been run hitherto must be dispensed with once and for all.⁴

There was good reason for all this. In the big summer exhibition in Dusseldorf in 1917 there had been practically no trace of what was then called Rhineland Expressionism. In 1918, when the *Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung* (Great Berlin Art Exhibition) was moved to Dusseldorf, the young painters of the Rhineland were still nowhere to be seen. They were, by contrast, present in force in the exhibition that was the source of the name *Das Junge Rheinland*, held a little later at the Kunstverein in Cologne in 1918, which set out to show “the evolution of the art of the younger generation in the Rhineland in recent years.”⁵ The centerpiece of this show was a group of thirty paintings by August Macke; also featured were the older and younger artists of the Expressionist generation, Heinrich Campendonk, Ernst, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Heinrich Nauen, Walter Ophey, and Christian Rohlf.

This event was the point of departure for a campaign to form a new association of artists. The title of the Cologne exhibition was adopted, and in March of 1919, 113 artists were represented in the Dusseldorf Kunsthalle at the group’s first major show of “young” art from the Rhineland.

The contradictions that emerged from this first Dusseldorf exhibition had to be explained away; and in his account of *Das Junge Rheinland*, written to accompany its first exhibition, Karl Koetschau, director of the Dusseldorf Kunstmuseum and a member of the organization’s advisory board, was at some pains to do so. Still unable, after the collapse of the Reich, to bring himself to speak of Germany as a republic, let alone a “Free Republic,” he reduced the prospects that faced the avant-garde to the proportions of a provincial idyll:

When one thinks of Rhineland art one always thinks, first and foremost, of Dusseldorf, which is after all regarded as the principal, and indeed the official, art center of the Rhineland. This does an injustice to all those who, in other cities on the Rhine, or even away from the Rhine, but with true Rhineland individualism,



Fig. 2 Cover of *Das Junge Rheinland* (The Young Rhineland), 1921



Fig. 3 Conrad Felixmüller, *Porträt Dr. Hans Koch* (Portrait of Dr. Hans Koch), 1919, etching, 12 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (32.5 x 24.7 cm), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf

have been quietly working away on their own account; out there in the Reich people have only a very deficient idea of the cultural life of its western region.⁶

He then adds a word of caution to the young: "On every occasion nowadays, appropriate or not, we hear the word 'revolution.' *Das Junge Rheinland* does not want revolution. It wants evolution. Evolution, unhampered by the paternalism that is sustained by the rigid power of tradition, the fossilized remains of past reputation."⁷

Such attempts to avoid confrontation, in the true noncommittal style of the Rhineland, only brought it nearer. The cultural signals were so slow to reach this self-proclaimed provincial backwater that there was a reluctance to speak even in terms of the (by then) established style of Impressionism, let alone the progressive style of Expressionism: "The decision was taken to refer to a 'moderate' and an 'extreme' tendency."⁸ And so, in order to avoid any unpleasantness, the jury was divided into Painting I and II, and Printmaking I and II.

The next exhibition after the March exhibition of *Das Junge Rheinland* to be accompanied by a catalogue took place from June 22 to July 20, 1919, and presented a well-meant liberal assortment. In a review, Dr. Hans Koch (Fig. 3) – who had known Ernst as a student in Bonn from 1910 through 1914 – an important collector,

the owner of a print gallery (Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh & Co.), and a notable connoisseur and promoter of art in the Rhineland, pointed out the futility of the attempt to compromise in the presentation of contemporary art:

By and large, the exhibition exemplifies the Rhineland temperament. This painting is, taking it all in all, decent, God-fearing, good-natured, by German standards fairly cultivated, a bit untruthful, self-satisfied, and with obscure traditional antecedents. One thing is unfortunate: in this exhibition of the young artists of the Rhineland the artists who are most alive are two dead men: A[ugust] Macke and [Paul] Seehaus . . . No such thing as a "radical" is to be found in this exhibition.⁹

So much for the "extreme" tendency.

These criticisms refer to the beginnings of *Das Junge Rheinland* and its first exhibition in Dusseldorf. It was precisely its experience of petty provincialism and cliquishness that subsequently led the group, as it grew, to create a broader platform and achieve an openness that became its hallmark and that governed artistic life during the next years, contributing to the group's international impact. The appeal of February 24, 1919, published in the catalogue of the Dusseldorf exhibition in June and July of that year ends with the words: "We hope and expect that these events will lead to a growth of interest in our regional art and above all establish a rallying point for new talents. Our artistic life urgently needs fertilization by new ideas and new creative forces."

The Aktivistenbund 1919

"New ideas and new creative forces" were soon to emerge within an organization in which "the whole of the left came together: writers, journalists, actors, painters, and other intellectuals, not forgetting the lawyers who belonged to the left-wing parties."¹⁰ These people met in the home of a Dusseldorf chemist and photographer, Dr. Erwin Quedenfeld, and called themselves the *Aktivistenbund 1919* (Activist League 1919). And it is no wonder that the mostly Communist writers, labor organizers, and intellectuals who met there were joined by those visual artists who formed the progressive nucleus of *Das Junge Rheinland*.

Political art was on the agenda. New themes were in the offing which would revitalize the existing formal repertoire of ecstatic, explosive gestures by introducing into art the experience of the war, the inner life of the human psyche, and the misery of the contemporary proletariat, all combined with an assault on the bourgeoisie and its cozy artistic consensus.

In the guidelines the *Aktivistenbund* established there was no question of a provincial forum for the arts. On the contrary, "Its members are in an active state of hostility to the bourgeois tradition, which has petrified in soulless formalism, and which in spite of the Revolu-



Fig. 4 Gert Wollheim, *Der zufällige Tod des Bärenführers* (The Accidental Death of the Bear Trainer), woodcut, 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (19.6 x 14.8 cm), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf



Fig. 5 Hans Rilke, *Gosse* (Gutter), 1920, woodcut, 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (20.2 x 11.8 cm), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf



Fig. 6 Adolf de Haer, *Im Atelier* (In the Studio), 1920, woodcut, 10 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.6 x 13.7 cm), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf

tion still holds sway in art and art appreciation, both on the individual level and in the press."¹¹

Buch Eins des Aktivistenbundes 1919 (Book One of the Activist League 1919), a large-format brochure, appeared in 1920, to be followed within the year by *Buch Zwei* (Book Two) and *Buch Drei* (Book Three).¹² These publications document the group's literary activities and, in their numerous lithographs and woodcuts, give some idea of how the faceted planes of Cubism were giving way to linear and planar ciphers that seemed to surge from the unconscious, revealing a theme not only as a metaphor for an object but as a metaphor for visions mediated by feeling. Gert Wollheim contributed woodcuts with titles like *Ältliches Fräulein* (Old Maid), *Dostojewski im Totenhaus* (Dostoevsky in the House of the Dead), and *Der zufällige Tod des Bärenführers* (The Accidental Death of the Bear Trainer; Fig. 4). Otto Pankok describes in his autobiographical notes the process by which his contributions to the volumes developed out of the Expressionist experience: "1919: Remels, East Friesland. Expressionism collapses and war nerves erupt. 1920: The aforesaid explode."¹³ Artists like Adolf de Haer (Fig. 6) and Hans Rilke (Fig. 5) reached out toward a deeply felt, unembellished reality in a way that entirely sets them apart from the practiced formal schemas of the Expressionist woodcut.

The closeness of these artists' pictorial vision to a poetry that uses language to create disparate images of visionary emotion is apparent in the poems that Woll-

heim and Pankok, alongside others, published in *Buch Eins des Aktivistenbundes 1919*. Pankok's poem on the murder of the leaders of the communist *Spartakistenbund* (Spartacus League), Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, by right-wing extremists in January 1919 exemplifies the political commitment of the group.

To Rosa Luxemburg

I wind roses in bloom
Around your shattered temples
And spring lilies
Around your bleeding throat.
With lilac I cover
Your lacerated breast
Frail little violets
I will strew in your hair
And shower your stiff hands
With my kisses.
Martyred, torn, dead.
You, who are not I, who are strange
To me, and yet such close
and deeply rooted kin:
I stretch out my hand to you

Across the barrier of death.
You, blowing in the wind, a man
Wafted in mists, living your life
In shadows that no light can ever
Pierce through for me:
You did not hear the wind
That I hear;
You did not see the lying sun
That fooled me.

Nor all my sleepless fevered nights,
 You did not hear my dry, crazed sobs,
 Or the hoarseness of my croaking laugh,
 Dying away between cold prison walls.
 For we are beings
 Unmatched in loneliness
 Who burn for love
 And never meet.¹⁴

It is understandable that membership of an organization whose goal was to give a regional platform to a number of disparate interests provided the individual with less than did the association with like-minded artists whose thinking enabled a consensus – in this case, a political one – to be arrived at on the basis of shared experience. This left-wing circle formed the nucleus of an increasingly powerful tendency within *Das Junge Rheinland*, which blew its parochial world wide open and let in the full range of influences that shaped the modernism of the early 1920s.

New Art: Frau Ey

Neue Kunst Frau Ey (New Art: Frau Ey) – these were the words that ran above the twin showroom windows of the art gallery at No. 11, Hindenburgwall, in the city center of Dusseldorf, not far from the Academy of Art (Figs. 7-8, 12). It had all started in 1910, as Johanna Ey records in her memoirs:

By chance, I came into the possession of a bakery store. And again it was by chance – but one that changed my entire life – that two academy students came in one afternoon and asked where they could get something to drink. I was happy to make them a cup of coffee, and then, when I said "Ten pfennigs," they said, "We'll come again." And that is how my café began, at No. 5, Ratinger Strasse, the house where the poet Immermann lived and died.¹⁵

Eventually the students from the academy – and their professors – started leaving paintings with her for sale.



Fig. 7 Johanna Ey, 1926

Apart from Frau Ey, there were other, established art dealers in Dusseldorf, with whom she could not compete. The Galerie Flechtheim showed works of international modernism in Dusseldorf from 1913 and after the war reopened with a programmatic show *Expressionismus*. This gallery provided a forum for the older artists of *Das Junge Rheinland*, but when Alexei Jawlensky fell on hard times it was "Mutter Ey" who took him in; *Neue Kunst Frau Ey* became one of the most important artistic centers in Germany in the 1920s.



Fig. 8 Galerie Neue Kunst Frau Ey (Frau Ey's Gallery for New Art), Dusseldorf

The firm run by Dr. Koch, Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh & Co., was a forum for the younger members of the avant-garde, progressives from Cologne such as Hoerle, Rädelscheidt, and Seiwert, who maintained links with the Berlin group associated with Franz Pfemfert's review *Die Aktion* (Action). Among the Dresden artists consistently represented in Koch's gallery was Felixmüller. Before Dix moved to Dusseldorf his first contacts with the city were with this gallery, and it dealt in the graphic work of Pankok from 1918 onward.

It was through the friendship between Wollheim and Pankok and their move to Dusseldorf at the end of 1919 that Frau Ey began the most important phase of her work with those she called the "Moderns."

In January 1919, Pankok made his debut on the Dusseldorf scene in a letter to a local paper, the *Düsseldorfer Stadtanzeiger*:

While Dusseldorf art feels the gentle touch of the Impressionist breeze – or, as some would say, fails to detect it at all – in centers all over the rest of Europe the Expressionist hurricane has blown up to Force 12. Here the windows have been firmly closed ever since two works by Slevogt and Liebermann wafted in a few years back; the effect here at the time was much the same as it was in Berlin a generation ago. But that was a generation ago, and there the windows were left open.

Is this the way it will always be? Is Dusseldorf to remain a place where great artists stop over, a place of reaction and stagnation? Lovers and patrons of art, stop dithering! One thing is needed: Youth, Youth, Youth.¹⁶

Pankok had just concluded his formal education in 1914 when he found himself learning to hate war. Buried alive when a trench was bombed, he was discharged from a military hospital in 1917. At the end of the war, in Vechta, Oldenburg, he produced handbills and woodcuts as his contribution to the revolutionary debate and was run out of town. In Berlin he joined forces with Wollheim, whom he had known as a student. Wollheim, who had been severely wounded in 1917, used drawings he had done at the front as the basis for a series of large antiwar paintings that he began in Berlin in 1918 (Figs. 1, 9).

What both artists lacked, however, was a basis for their work, such as the older generation of Expressionists already possessed in their threefold discovery of an uninhibited experience of nature, big city themes, and a new way of depicting human beings. With a side-long look at the liberating potential of first-generation Expressionism, Pankok described the position from which his generation now set out: "Our energetic youth had been enslaved and worn down. We had been driven to despair, and every last spark had been knocked out of our skulls."¹⁷

At Remels in East Friesland in April 1919 Pankok and Wollheim produced landscapes and prints incorporating the same unsparing depiction of war that marks Wollheim's painting *Der Verwundete* (The Wounded Man; Fig. 1) of 1919; and their work there set

the tone for what they would do in Dusseldorf. Pankok was already a skilled and experienced maker of woodcuts and etchings. They were able to work quickly and collaboratively. It is already evident, however, that within a shared style of ecstatic dissolution of form it was Wollheim who concentrated on evoking, and indicting, the horrors of war – even his landscapes are visions of a nature that is being blown apart – while Pankok sought to reconcile emotion and consciousness through contact with man and nature. This endeavor was to define his artistic position in the face of all the inhuman reality of the human condition, which complemented an increasingly single-minded commitment to social change and radical pacifism.

Their plan to found a painters' colony at Remels, on the lines of the one at Worpswede founded in 1893, was quickly abandoned when reports of the activities of *Das Junge Rheinland* and the *Aktivistenbund 1919* hinted at the possibility of a new start.¹⁸

At the end of 1919 there took place an encounter in Frau Ey's café and gallery which she was to recall in the knowledge that it marked the opening of a new chapter in the artistic life of the city:

One day at noon, along came the two strangers. Big Otto Pankok: "Don't you know me, Frau Ey? I used to drink coffee at your place when I was a student, in 1912. You don't sell coffee any more, I suppose?" I was delighted: "Just you come right through," and I was back in the kitchen making coffee. By the time I brought it, Pankok and Wollheim had a signed photograph right there on the table for me. I was really touched, all my resentment at Wollheim had melted away. So later I asked them whether they were painting here, and what sort of pictures. They both laughed and looked at each other. I asked why they didn't show me something, and they laughed all the more. But the next day they came back, and Pankok said: "You'd better sit down first, or anything might happen." I saw a picture by Wollheim – Pankok's portrait it was; and a big drawing by Pankok – Wollheim playing the fiddle. I liked them both. To me it was something interesting, something you don't see every day, and I said, "If you want you can put them in the window." They both looked at me as if I were crazy, and so the pictures went up in the window the very next day. The effect was phenomenal. Within ten minutes nobody could get past the window; the sidewalk was jammed. I could hear nothing but laughter, cursing, a crowd of people as if someone had just been murdered. On the Sunday morning I woke up to a chorus of catcalls and curses, so that for a moment I thought "What have I done?" So I made a decision: Now I'm going to show the Moderns. So I said to the two of them, "From now on you can have one of my windows to yourselves to show your pictures."¹⁹

Any account of the friendship that began when these two artists moved to Dusseldorf should really begin, however, with the picture whose unsparing truthfulness encapsulates the brief years of their artistic collaboration: the triptych *Der Verwundete*, of which only the central panel with its tormented, lacerated figure survives, wound up in the possession of Frau Ey. The dealer Alfred Flechtheim was curious enough about the painting to have it brought from Remels to Dusseldorf at the beginning of 1920, but when he saw it he indignantly



Fig. 9 Gert Wollheim, *Der Verurteilte* [The Condemned Man], 1921 (Cat. 202)

refused to show it in his gallery. When it was included in an exhibition of new purchases at the Dusseldorf Kunsthalle in February 1920, public protest forced its withdrawal; Wollheim replaced it with three drawings.

The painting *Der Verwundete* had meanwhile been stored in the cellars of the Kunsthalle. Wollheim tried to give it away: no one would have it. Over coffee, one afternoon, we were talking it over and Wollheim asked, turning to me: "Will you have the picture? I'll give it to you as a gift, but you must hang it here, in this room." I didn't know the picture, all the other artists were already saying yes on my behalf, so I had to go with him to the Kunsthalle to take a look at it, and when I saw the picture I was so overwhelmed I couldn't say a word, and a dozen hands picked up the picture and took it back to my home. It was hung over my bed. I didn't dare go to bed that night, and I spent three nights with my bedding on the floor, just to get accustomed to it gradually.²⁰

The publication of the three *Aktivistenbund* books, the three issues of *Das Ey* (Figs. 10-11 – *Ey* is a pun on the German word *Ei*, "egg") with the prints published in them, and the appearance of the periodical *Das Junge Rheinland* itself, beginning in October 1921, edited by Wollheim, marked the spread of the message beyond the boundaries of the city. At the same time the feud intensified between the artists who showed at Frau Ey's and the conservative wing of *Das Junge Rheinland*, which now aligned itself with the reactionary *Malkasten* (Paint Box) artists' club and with an art academy distinguished mainly by the ineptitude of its representatives, led by the detested and despised director, one Fritz Roeber.

Things came to a head in the first issue of *Das Junge Rheinland*, with the battle over the appointment of Nauen, the group's chairman, as professor at the

academy. This "betrayal" of the group's philosophy meant that no holds were barred from then on, and the barrage of slander and intrigue continued until the group itself ceased to exist.

The periodical *Das Junge Rheinland* gives an insight into the successive campaigns of this petty war between the avant-garde and the Establishment with weapons that included prosecutions for immorality and pornography, which were greeted with scornful laughter by the artists' friends and the press. The journal is a treasure-trove of information on the art of the period and the efforts to make it comprehensible to the public. However, even the "progressive" forces in the art world were capable of reactionary behavior on occasion, as we learn in a letter from Dix to Pankok, who had suggested that a one-man show of Dix's work in Mainz should travel to Dusseldorf: "By the time your letter arrived the Mainz people had already sent the pictures off to me. Did I mention to you that on 'moral grounds' the Mainz people never actually put the pictures on show? Even the *Novembergruppe* [!] has just rejected a perfectly harmless picture of mine on moral grounds. I'll just pack together a few things for you and do a collective exhibition for you instead."

A few weeks later Dix wrote again, with a glance at the art critic and publisher Paul Westheim: "...for basically, my dear Pankok, we should not imagine that we are the ones who make art..."²¹

The profound moral sincerity and the uncompromising commitment to an essential humanity, which justify us in linking these artists with the Expressionist movement, are reflected in what they wrote for *Das*



DAS EY :: Düsseldorf, Hindenburgwall 11
Druck: Buchdruckerei Otto Fritz, Düsseldorf, Oststr. 13

Fig. 10 Otto Pankok,
Cover of *Das Ey*, no. 1,
1920 (Cat. 154)



Fig. 11 Otto Pankok,
Cover of *Das Ey*, no. 2,
1920 (Cat. 154)

DAS EY :: Düsseldorf, Hindenburgwall 11
Druck: Buchdruckerei Otto Fritz, Düsseldorf, Oststr. 13



Fig. 12 Otto Dix, *Frau Johanna Ey*, 1924 (Cat. 35)

Junge Rheinland, as Pankok did in a piece called "April Sermon":

Art can stand a rumpus, when the spirit moves – indeed why should it not; although art is not a rumpus. People look for painting and not for truth. But truth is what matters, and then painting comes of its own accord. The thing to look for is the expression of truth, plain and devoid of pretense: this is the idea, the foundation, the building material. Our faith has gone, our knowledge has melted away. There is only one course open to us: to act, to go all out for truth. And whether it is beautiful or not: what is that to us?²²

Conrad Felixmüller

Just twenty-one years old, Conrad Felixmüller arrived in Wiesbaden in the late summer of 1918 for an exhibition of his work at the *Nassauischer Kunstverein* (Nassau Art Society). The collector Kirchhoff had been supporting him during the war by paying him a monthly stipend of 250 reichsmarks for first refusal on his paintings.²³ As early as 1918, Dr. Koch had tried to get some works of Felixmüller's to show at his gallery in Dusseldorf:

A few days ago we saw your current exhibition at the Schames gallery [in Frankfurt]. Herr Schames was of the opinion that you would readily agree to allow the Frankfurt exhibition to travel. We had planned to open an exhibition of "New Art in Dusseldorf Private Collections" on November 1. But in such abnormal times it seems better to save such a major exhibition for less troubled times.... So initially we would be interested in your graphic work: drawings, lithographs, etchings, watercolors, etc. About a hundred items in all.²⁴

And so a number of Felixmüller's works came to Dusseldorf, not only through Koch's mediation, but also through the offices of Frau Ey and Flechtheim. There followed a friendly interchange between the artists of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*, headed by Felixmüller, and those of the *Aktivistenbund*, and in due course this also involved Frau Ey's artists and those of *Das Junge Rheinland*, Pankok and Wollheim above all. Frau Ey's memoirs give an idea of the heated controversy surrounding the work of Felixmüller and others:

I had an idea. Wollheim was to give a lecture on new art. Wollheim first went to Roeber, the director of the Academy, and asked him for the use of a room; he was told no. Pankok and Wollheim had been banned from the Academy before. So the Wollheim lecture was announced by a placard in my window. The people packed not only the shop but the adjoining room, the yard, the window, and the street outside, as far as the Hindenburg Embankment. I had never heard Wollheim speak in public, and I was a bit nervous. Pankok said, full of pride: "Don't worry, he'll beat them all when it comes to talking," and I felt better. The interest intensified. My shop was too small. Later there were lectures in the Ibach Hall on various paintings by Klee and Felix Müller [Felixmüller] that we borrowed from Alfred Flechtheim's gallery. The battle between the old school and the progressive artists was on in earnest.²⁵

The influence of Felixmüller's Expressionist prints on the young members of the Dusseldorf avant-garde is

clearly detectable, and the artists were even more closely allied by their radical pacifism and their identification with the cause of the working class. Felixmüller believed that no aesthetic detachment could keep art and life apart, and this belief bore fruit in 1920 in an extended visit to the Ruhr industrial area, undertaken in lieu of the study trip to Rome that was part of the Saxon State Prize. This was the year of the *Ruhrkampf* (Battle of the Ruhr), the bloody civil war fought by the Red Ruhr Army against the regular army, the police, and the irregulars of the Freikorps, in which hundreds of strikers were shot and clubbed to death (Fig. 13).

From Dusseldorf we traveled by way of Duisburg to Essen. The effect of seeing a coal mine in the middle of a town is something I find impossible to describe in a few words. My heart and my mind simply stood still: I could not make myself believe that human beings were really going down into the depths, right there, with picks and miners' lamps, to bring up coal, the black stuff that is so often and so thoughtlessly "thrown on the fire." That hundreds of human beings could go through that big red brick gateway on a beautiful summer day – and descend into the awesome depths of the earth – was inconceivable to me. Right there, in the midst of a sea of houses, so matter-of-factly, so mechanically! My hair stood on end, so I got myself a short haircut and a notebook. After the trip was over I had to confess that I had not had the heart to do any sketching.... At the same time, my heart still bleeds at the thought that in the last few months thousands of human beings have been shot, knifed, clubbed to death and locked up – because they were *unselfishly* fighting for the new society! Just go underground yourself, and listen to the good-luck greeting they ex-



Fig. 13 Conrad Felixmüller, *Streikposten* (Pickets), 1921, drawing, 25 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 19 $\frac{11}{16}$ in. (65 x 50 cm), private collection



Fig. 14 Otto Dix, *Liebespaar*, 1920 (Lovers, 1920), 1919, woodcut, $9\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (23 x 19.9 cm), Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

change down there: *Glückauf!* [Cheers!] – when you see a coal seam collapsing right next to an almost naked, sweating, slaving human being! – it is the most heartfelt thing a human being can ever say; they all say it, freely and openly; I believe they all say it in sheer gladness that they can still say it at all, that the ever-creaking rock has not yet collapsed and buried them. Believe you me: I was often close to tears of overwhelming emotion, and I was ashamed of my life of ease. Down there below ground I felt the force of Schiller's words, "All men become (are!) brothers" – and became increasingly aware that work is a holy thing.²⁶

In the period that followed this visit Felixmüller's firsthand experience of the world of labor bore fruit in a large number of pen-and-wash drawings and prints, the content of which was to define the subject matter of his work for the years that followed. The quest for total immediacy in the portrayal of the life of labor, its everyday events and its traumas, was also pursued by the young artists who surrounded Mutter Ey. This growing identification with the real world, the working up of new themes taken from real life, is the mark of the last phase of Expressionism.

At the request of his Dusseldorf friends, Felixmüller wrote a piece for the third number of *Das Ey* to introduce Dix, who contributed an original woodcut of 1919, *Liebespaar*, 1920 (Lovers, 1920; Fig. 14).

Otto Dix comes from Thuringia; it shows in his work, and his extraordinary technical skill reveals that he is a worker's son.... In peacetime he painted spectral night scenes and visionary portraits of great intuitive psychological insight. On military service, and eventually at the front, the men under his command helped to perform his duties while he unsparingly, with brutal relish, drew human beings as killers. More brutally and bestially than any man could draw who was inspired by the most callous militarism.... This is no Merz painting, no fooling either. The human creature in these works is abject, spent, his own worst enemy, in the grip of horror and despair, the sorrowful man of the machine age, the age of money-making, rackets, and profiteering. Shame is dead, and volition is dead. The power of instinct lives in delirium and dies in the belief in nothing. You have to have seen life from its worst side and been left all alone. Like OTTO DIX... OTTO DIX is lonely, despairing, and poor. He knows that no one is going to buy his pictures from him, for all their great artistic power.²⁷

Dix had already sent in graphic works to *Das Ey*, probably acting on a suggestion by Felixmüller made during his stay in Dusseldorf. Such was his financial plight that even the proceeds of the drawings and prints sold at Frau Ey's and Dr. Koch's galleries would not have enabled him to come to Dusseldorf had not Felixmüller, in his concern for his friend's career, proposed him – instead of himself – for a commission to paint Dr. Koch's portrait. Dix wrote to Pankok in February 1921: "I am glad to belong to your circle. If you put on any exhibitions, please send me the papers, etc. I hope to be able to greet my fellow artists in Dusseldorf in person before the year is out."²⁸

In October 1921, Dix was as good as his word. At Dr. Koch's he met Ernst (Fig. 15), who had been drawn to Frau Ey's gallery from his native Cologne by the happening-like activities of Wollheim at the time of the "modern art" lecture.²⁹

For a few brief years, Dusseldorf now became – thanks to Dix, Ernst, and their friends in Frau Ey's circle – the most exciting and perhaps the most progressive artistic center in Europe. And it was Felixmüller whose early Expressionist work had given voice to an aspiration, and who by sheer force of personality had paved the way to the network of friendships that gave the art of the time in Dusseldorf both its high quality and its widespread influence.



Fig. 15 Max Ernst, *Das Leben im Haus* (Life in the Home), 1919 (Cat. 42)

Otto Dix and *Das Junge Rheinland*

Dix saw Wollheim's triptych *Der Verwundete* on his first visit to "The Ey" – as he called the gallery. He brought with him from Dresden his own unfinished painting *Der Schützengraben* (The Trench; Fig. 19), which he had been working on "in defiance of all economic sense" for months on end. Under the influence of the work of his friends – he soon moved into a studio with Wollheim – he completed this work, an indictment of the militarism still very much alive in Germany. When it was finished, in 1923, Dix was fortunate enough to sell it to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne for 10,000 reichsmarks, to be paid in installments. The subsequent fortunes of this work are symptomatic of the history of art in the two decades that followed.

The painting was soon being discussed in the reactionary press. For the art critic Julius Meier-Graefe, writing in the conservative nationalist newspaper, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on July 3, 1924, "The brutality of this demonstration" was a "public affront"; the painting was "not just badly but atrociously painted, with an obtrusive fondness for detail. . . Brains, blood, and guts can be so painted as to make one's mouth water. . . This Dix – forgive the harsh word – makes you puke."

This rebuff was followed by a demonstration of solidarity on the part of fellow artists, among them the aged Max Liebermann, who wrote in a letter to Dr. Secker of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum: "I consider Dix's painting to be one of the most important works of the postwar period. Particular credit is due to you for acquiring Dix's painting for the museum, though I cannot help regretting that it did not find its rightful place in the Nationalgalerie in Berlin."³⁰

In 1925, as a result of pressure from the Mayor of Cologne, Dr. Konrad Adenauer – as Dix was later to



Fig. 16 Otto Dix, *Schwerer Granateinschlag* (Heavy Shell Fire), 1918 (Cat. 26)

remind the world – the purchase was canceled and Dr. Secker was dismissed. In 1930 the state collections in Saxony acquired the painting, and by 1933 it was hanging alongside paintings by Felixmüller in the first, malignant Nazi show, *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls der Kunst* (Images of the Decadence of Art), a forerunner of the notorious *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition.

As a printmaker, Dix was still very inexperienced. He had made his first experiments in etching by working on the plate of Felixmüller's *Otto Dix zeichnet* (Otto Dix Draws) in Dresden in 1920. Pankok's and Wollheim's work was an effective stimulus and model. In return, his Dadaist wit began to influence the drawings, woodcuts, and etchings of his friends. He got what he could out of the academy, too, by enrolling as a master student under Wilhelm Herberholz. "After I had



Fig. 17 Otto Dix, from the portfolio *Der Krieg* (War), 1924 (Cat. 36)



Fig. 18 Otto Dix, from the portfolio *Der Krieg* (War), 1924 (Cat. 36)

Fig. 19 Otto Dix, *Der Schützengraben* (The Trench), 1920-23, destroyed



tried out every possible technique with Herberholz, I suddenly became engrossed in etching. I had a lot to tell; I had a theme."³¹

His theme was defined by *Der Schützengraben*. Like Wollheim, he found his material in the drawings he had made at the front, the gruesome documents of what to the bourgeois guardians of morality was still a heroic past (Fig. 16). Under Herberholz's tuition he discovered the pictorial possibilities of etching and, specifically, of aquatint. "Wash off the acid, apply the aquatint: in short, a wonderful technique that lets you work on the gradations as much as you like. The process suddenly becomes enormously interesting; when you etch, you become a pure alchemist."³²

Dix's work in Dusseldorf ranks supreme within his entire life's work. Not only the material support he received – the painter Arthur Kaufmann bought his nude painting *Kleines Mädchen* (Little Girl) on his first visit to Dix's studio, and passed on his suits to him – not only his marriage to Dr. Koch's ex-wife, Mutzli, but also his faith in the intellectual and moral infallibility of his friends yielded a rich harvest. The numerous works from this period are also of particular interest because they document his progressive emergence from Expressionism into a more *sachlich* – sober, factual, objective – form of representation. However, as his friend Pankok remarked: "Otto Dix's *Sachlichkeit* [objectivity] is pretty Expressionistic, I'll be damned if it isn't."³³

After the fifth cycle of etchings *Tod und Auferstehung* (Death and Resurrection) of 1922 he embarked in the fall of 1923 on a sequence of fifty aquatints under the title *Der Krieg* (War; Figs. 17-18; Fig. 15, p. 22). This work, which is of a quality comparable only to Goya's *Los Desastres* of 1810-14, occupies a unique position in twentieth-century art: it represents the charnel house of a civilization that never learned the meaning of an existence worthy of human beings. It created an international sensation; but of the edition of seventy sets only one was sold. A Berlin paper, *Die Vossische Zeitung*, proclaimed it "a document of the times of the highest quality," while the critic of *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* wrote: "Anyone who sees these images and does not vow to oppose war with heart and soul can hardly be called human." In Stuttgart, the newspaper *Das Neue Tageblatt* called for every major collection of modern graphic art to possess a set. And yet the history of the work is, to an exemplary degree, the history of its suppression.

Contemporaries: A Portrait of a Group

Kaufmann's group portrait *Zeitgenossen* (Contemporaries; Fig. 20), which he painted in 1925, assembles the major figures of *Das Junge Rheinland* from its foundation to its dissolution. Pankok is not there: by this time he was painting in Italy, and especially on

Capri, in search of new and friendlier working environments. There is also much affection in the painting, in which the artists are grouped round the central figure of Mutter Ey, but the group was by no means free from jealous discord, as is shown by the fact that Kaufmann had to paint over, with a female portrait, the figure next to Wollheim, that of an important member of *Das Junge Rheinland*, Adolf Uzarski. This was because Uzarski refused to stand next to Wollheim, even in a picture.

The subsequent fate of Frau Ey is described by Anna Klapheck:

In the mid 1920s, the mood at Frau Ey's changed. War and revolution had been forgotten, and the French occupation of the Ruhr district, which had brought further hardships, was over. Everywhere in Germany the combative spirit was waning, and in some respects the New Wave had prevailed. At Frau Ey's, the fiercest of the fighters were withdrawing from the fray; even the bitterest polemic must eventually be stilled. The war against the academies had gone on for many years, and there had been constant calls for their abolition; but now some of the old rebels were being appointed to teaching posts at those same academies. Feigler became a professor in Weimar, Dix in Dresden. Max Ernst's visits became less frequent. Wollheim went to Berlin. "The best horses had left the Ey stable and run their races," as Mutter Ey puts it in her handwritten memoirs. "I myself had now made it, I was one of the elite; that is, people no longer laughed at me the way they had before. I was highly respected."³⁴

The Congress of the Union of Progressive International Artists, Dusseldorf 1922

The conflict within *Das Junge Rheinland* between parochial unwillingness to offend and the international ambitions of the Mutter Ey circle date from the be-

ginnings of the organization in 1919; it had one major consequence, the Congress of the Union of Progressive International Artists (*Union fortschrittlicher internationaler Künstler*) in Dusseldorf in 1922.³⁵ This was in answer to an appeal voiced in the 1919 proclamation of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* in Berlin, which had otherwise borne no fruit:

To all artists of all countries! Art has always been free of the fetters of nationality. We artists living in Germany have always been aware of the great value to us of our contacts with our friends beyond the borders. The war has done nothing to change this attitude on our part ... from east and west hands have already been stretched out to us. We grasp them ... we must all come together ... from every country to an international congress.³⁶

For a few years *Das Junge Rheinland* had participated as a group in the big annual art exhibitions in Dusseldorf, the *Grosse Kunstausstellung* (Great Art Exhibition); but when it came in 1921 to the preparations for the following year's exhibition, which was to be international in scope, there was a showdown between the moderates and the extremists. *Das Junge Rheinland* withdrew from the organizing body and set up headquarters at *Neue Kunst Frau Ey*. It was from there that the initiative emerged which led to the formation in Weimar on March 11, 1922, of the *Kartell fortschrittlicher Künstlergruppen in Deutschland* (Cartel of Progressive Artists' Groups in Germany), which embraced *Das Junge Rheinland*, the Berlin *Novembergruppe*, the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*, the *Darmstädter Sezession* (Darmstadt Secession), the *Künstlergruppe Halle an der Saale* (Artists' Group Halle/Saale), and the *Künstlergruppe München des Kartells* (The Cartel's Munich Artists' Group).



Fig. 20 Arthur Kaufmann, *Zeitgenossen* (Contemporaries), 1925, oil on canvas, 71 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 96 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (182 x 245 cm), Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf

Fig. 21 Gert Wollheim, *Abschied von Düsseldorf* (Farewell from Düsseldorf), 1924 (Cat. 203)



At the beginning of March 1922 the call went out for a boycott of the 1922 *Grosse Kunstausstellung*,³⁷ and the Dusseldorf organizing committee set to work at once on its own show, the *Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung* (First International Art Exhibition), which was to be held on the premises of the Tietz department store to coincide with the Congress of the Union of International Progressive Artists only three months later. The show was to feature three hundred artists from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The exhibition opened on May 28, 1922. In his long review in *Das Kunstblatt* (The Art Paper), Alfred Samony drew attention to the enormous organizational feat that this represented: "In terms of orientation and coordination it represents an achievement that far excels anything that has been done on a comparable occasion. Expressionism, that inadequate term for an art stimulated but not given by nature, is a long way from dead."³⁸

In Expressionism, a dream became reality, albeit briefly; this dream then fell victim to the rise of fascism; and today, near the end of the twentieth century, it is once more aspired to. In his preface to the exhibition catalogue, Wassily Kandinsky speaks of this dream:

We stand beneath the sign of *synthesis*. We—human beings on the globe. All the paths that we have hitherto trodden separately have

now become *one* Path, which we tread in common—whether we like it or not.... Yesterday those realms of phenomena that we call art—without knowing what that is—were sharply distinct from each other; today they have blended into a single realm, marked off from other realms of human concern by boundaries that are themselves fast vanishing. The last ramparts are falling, and the last boundary markers are being eradicated.³⁹

This aspiration to identify art with life, an idea that Kandinsky calls "synthesis," was not one that the first and last Congress of the Union of International Progressive Artists was able to fulfil. On the contrary, the various conceptions of what art could do in life, and how this was to be achieved, became more blatantly irreconcilable than ever. The international Constructivist caucus left after just one day, with an unequivocal statement: "The actions of this congress have shown that as a result of the preeminence of individualist attitudes no international, progressive solidarity can be formed from the elements present at this congress."⁴⁰

The outcome of this international gathering in Dusseldorf, which failed to achieve supranational solidarity among creative artists and yet left its mark in so many international organizations in the art world, was the collapse of the whole endeavor pioneered by *Das Junge Rheinland*. The group itself split up as a result of differences of opinion over an exhibition. The gulf between the young artists, who were freeing themselves from the grip of the academy, and the other, established artists, had become fatal to any common initiative. The

process by which some artists seceded from *Das Junge Rheinland* to form their own *Rheingruppe* (Rhine Group) was farcical.⁴¹

Wollheim painted a picture called *Abschied von Düsseldorf* (Farewell from Düsseldorf; Fig. 21) and moved to Berlin with Dix, who moved on again shortly afterward to become a professor at the academy in Dresden. Others, including Pankok and Werner Gilles, recharged their imaginations by traveling south. In 1927 there was an attempt to refound *Das Junge Rheinland*, and in 1929 the *Rheinische Sezession* (Rhenish Secession) mounted a *Jubiläumsausstellung* (Jubilee Exhibition) to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of *Das Junge Rheinland*. Uzarski, who with Herbert Eulenberg and Kaufmann had drafted the initial founding document, wrote the preface to the catalogue under the title *Zehn Jahre Fortschrittliche Kunst am Rhein* (Ten Years of Progressive Art on the Rhine).

This was also the year in which Johanna Ey's sixty-fifth birthday was celebrated, with tributes from all sorts of prominent persons. What pleased her most was a hymn of praise wired from Berlin by Ernst:

Great Ey, we praise and adore thee,
O Ey, we laud thy might,
The Rhineland bows before thee,
And buys thy works cheap, on sight.⁴²

It was all to change soon enough. These artists, to whom the hatred of war and the cause of human dignity meant more than easy fame and recognition, and anyone who had been associated with them, were doomed to an ordeal for which the brown shirt battalions of fascism, the roughnecks on the public payroll, and all the little Hitlers in government service were already making their preparations.

There were many for whom their identification with the cause of the weak and with the logical consequences of saying "No more war!" led to persecution, banishment, or murder. In the third number of *Das Ey*, Wollheim made a profession of faith that makes the relevance of this art as evident now, near the end of the century, as it obviously was for their contemporaries: "Look, you'll understand our new art a lot better if you remember that we are totally consistent about living as we think."

Notes

- 1 Kurt Pinthus, ed., *Die Menschheitsdämmerung: Ein Dokument des Expressionismus* (reprint, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1959), pp. 25, 35.
- 2 Diether Schmidt, ed., *Manifeste Manifeste 1905-1933*, vol. 1 (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1965).
- 3 On the art scene in Cologne, see Wulf Herzogenrath, ed., *Max Ernst in Köln: Die rheinische Kunstszenen bis 1922* (Cologne: Rheinland, 1980); Walter Vitt, ed., *Bagage de Baargeld* (Starnberg: J. Keller, 1985), especially p. 12 ff.: "Die Gesellschaft der Künste (Winter 1918/19)."
- 4 "Aufruf an junge rheinische Künstler," 1918, quoted in Ulrich Krempel, ed., *Das Junge Rheinland: Zur Kunst- und Zeitgeschichte einer Region 1918-1945* (Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1985), p. 19. The manuscript is owned by Galerie Remmert & Barth, Düsseldorf.
- 5 P. A. Seehaus, "Das Junge Rheinland," *Das Kunstblatt* 2 (1918), p. 120 ff.
- 6 Karl Koetschau, "Das Junge Rheinland: Ein Begleitwort zu seiner ersten Ausstellung," *Die Rheinlande* 19, nos. 7-8 (1919); quoted in Krempel, *Das Junge Rheinland*, p. 20.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Hans Koch, "Das 'Junge Rheinland' zu Düsseldorf," *Westdeutsche Monatsschrift* (Cologne) 1 (July 4 and 18, 1919); quoted in exhibition catalogue *Die rheinischen Expressionisten: August Macke und seine Malerfreunde* (Städtisches Museum, Bonn; Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1979), pp. 78-79.
- 10 Report by Gert Arntz, quoted in Peter Barth, *Johanna Ey und ihr Künstlerkreis* (Galerie Remmert & Barth, Düsseldorf, 1984), p. 26.
- 11 See "Aktivistenbund 1919: Leitsätze," in Krempel, *Das Junge Rheinland*, p. 22.
- 12 Erwin Quedenfeld, ed., *Buch Eins des Aktivistenbundes 1919* (Düsseldorf: [Aktivistenbund], Rosenstrasse 28, 1920), with

poems by Fröhlen, Hannemann, Heuser, Pankok, Stoeffhase, and Wollheim, and lithographs by Bullinger, de Haer, Pankok, Rilke, Schelb, Stoeffhase, and Wollheim.

Buch Zwei des Aktivistenbundes 1919 (Düsseldorf, 1920), with literary contributions and nine woodcuts by de Haer, Pankok, Schreiner, and Wollheim.

Buch Drei des Aktivistenbundes 1919 (Düsseldorf, 1920), with poems by Hannemann and eleven woodcuts by de Haer, Pankok, Rilke, and Wollheim.

- 13 Otto Pankok, handwritten text in the possession of Galerie Remmert & Barth, reproduced in exhibition catalogue *Otto Pankok, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik, Plastiken 1914-1964* (Galerie Remmert & Barth, Düsseldorf, 1986), p. 9.
- 14 Otto Pankok's original text is as follows:

An Rosa Luxemburg
Ich winde dir blühende Rosen
Um deine zerschossene Schläfe
Und Lenzlilien
Um deine blutende Kehle.
Mit Flieder bedecke
Ich deine zerfetzte Brust,
Kleine zarte Veilchen
Will ich streuen in dein Haar
Will deine starren Hände decken
Mit meinen Küssen.
Gemartert, zerrissen, tot.
Du Nicht-Ich, du Fremde mir
Du, mir doch so nah
Und tief verwandt
Reich ich dir
Über den Tod meine Hand.

Der du verhauchst, verschwebst
In Nebeln du dein Schicksal lebst

In Dunkelheiten, die kein Licht
Mir je durchbricht:
Du hörtest den Wind nicht wehen,
Den ich hörte
Du hast nicht die lügende Sonne gesehen,
Die mich betörte.

Und auch nicht mein fiebrisches Wachen –
Und mein Schluchzen trocken und toll
Hörtest du nicht und mein heiseres Lachen,
Das vor kalten Kerkerwänden erscholl.
Denn wir sind Wesen
Einsam ohne Gleichen,
Die in Liebe brennend
Sich nie erreichen.

- 15 Quoted in Heinrich Böll, "Mutter Ey: Versuch eines Denkmals in Worten," in *Aufsätze, Kritiken, Reden*, 2nd ed. (Munich: dtv, 1982), vol. 2, p. 49.
- 16 Otto Pankok, "Museum und junge Kunst," open letter, January 27, 1919. Otto Pankok Archiv, Haus Esselt, Drevenack.
- 17 Otto Pankok, *Stern und Blume* (Düsseldorf: Freihochschulbund-Industrieverlag, 1930), p. 11.
- 18 F.W. Heckmanns, "Freunde in Düsseldorf: Otto Pankok – Gert Wollheim – Otto Dix," in Krempel, *Das Junge Rheinland*, p. 42 ff.
- 19 Johanna Ey, "Das rote Malkästle," *Das Kunstblatt* 14 (1930), pp. 79-80.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Otto Dix, letters to Otto Pankok, June 3 and 27, 1921. Otto Pankok Archiv, Haus Esselt, Drevenack.
- 22 Otto Pankok, "Die Aprilpredigt," *Das Junge Rheinland*, no. 7 (April 1922), p. 8.
- 23 Gerhard Söhn, ed., *Conrad Felixmüller: von ihm – über ihn* (Düsseldorf: Graphik-Salon, 1977), p. 255.
- 24 Hans Koch, letter to Conrad Felixmüller, January 27, 1918, in exhibition catalogue *Conrad Felixmüller: Werke und Dokumente* (Archiv für Bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1981), p. 69.
- 25 Ey, "rote Malkästle," p. 81.
- 26 Conrad Felixmüller, letter to Heinrich Kirchhoff, July 27, 1920; see F.W. Heckmanns, ed., *Conrad Felixmüller: Das druckgraphische Werk 1912-1976* (Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, 1986), p. 52.
- 27 *Das Ey*, no. 3 (fall 1920).
- 28 Otto Dix, letter to Otto Pankok, January 5, 1921. Otto Pankok Archiv, Haus Esselt, Drevenack.
- 29 Max Ernst had paintings shown at *Neue Kunst Frau Ey* from 1920 onward. The artists associated with the gallery resisted the Dada influence from nearby Cologne with increasing vigor as the Naturalism debate proceeded (as reflected, for instance, in the pages of Paul Westheim's review *Das Kunstblatt* for 1922), and as Expressionism gradually gave way to a calmer, more objective form of pictorial representation. In 1929, Ernst's painting *La Belle Jardinière*, which was to disappear around 1939 in the Nazi terror campaign that accompanied

the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition, was bought from Frau Ey, through the intermediary of the Galerie Flechtheim, by the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf for the sum of 2,200 reichsmarks. In 1924 Frau Ey had accepted all Ernst's paintings currently in her hands as security for her financing of his trip from Paris to Indochina.

- 30 *Mannheimer Tageblatt*, October 10, 1924.
- 31 Quoted in Peter Barth, *Otto Dix und die Düsseldorfer Kunstszene* (Düsseldorf, 1983), p. 46.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Otto Pankok, letter from Anacapri to Arthur Kaufmann, November 13, 1925. Otto Pankok Archiv, Haus Esselt, Drevenack.
- 34 Anna Klapheck, *Mutter Ey: Eine Düsseldorfer Künstlerlegende* (Düsseldorf: Droste, n. d.), p. 39.
- 35 Stephan von Wiese, "Ein Meilenstein auf dem Weg in den Internationalismus," in Krempel, *Das Junge Rheinland*, p. 50 ff.
- 36 Statement by the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, Berlin, in *Der Cicerone* 11 (1919), p. 264; quoted in exhibition catalogue *Expressionisten*, pp. 157-58.
- 37 See the call for a boycott: "An die deutsche Künstlerschaft und die deutschen Kunstfreunde. Vorgetragen von: Christian Rohlf, Arthur Kaufmann, Adolf Uzarski, Gert H. Wollheim, Wilhelm Brink, Walter Ophey, Hedwig Petermann, Josef Ensling, Ulrich Leman, Lothar Brieger, Max Burchartz, Kasimir Edschmid, Herbert Eulenberg, Alfred Flechtheim, Otto Gleichmann, Hans Goltz, Walter Gropius, Dr. Hoff, Rudolf Levy, Poelzig, Dresdner Sezession, Dr. Reiche, Georg Tappert, Otto von Wätjen, Dr. Viktor Wallerstein, Paul Westheim," *Das Junge Rheinland*, no. 6 (March 1922), p. 17.
- 38 Alfred Salmony, in *Das Kunstblatt* 6 (1922), p. 353 ff.
- 39 Wassily Kandinsky, "Vorwort," in exhibition catalogue *Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung*, organized by *Das Junge Rheinland* (Düsseldorf, 1922).
- 40 This "Statement of the International Constructivists" is signed by Theo van Doesburg, El Lissitzky, and Hans Richter. See Krempel, *Das Junge Rheinland*, p. 62.
- 41 Arthur Kaufmann describes what happened in his article in Irene Markowitz and Rolf Andree, eds., exhibition catalogue *Avantgarde Gestern*, organized by the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf (Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, 1970). Artists represented in the first *Rheingruppe* exhibition were listed as follows: Jankel Adler, Arno Breker (who, as the youngest, did portraits of all the members of the group, including Adler, Dix, Kaufmann, Uzarski, and Wollheim), Theo Champion, F.C. Cürten, Otto Dix, Arthur Erdle, G. Gottschalk, W. Heuser, Ten Hompel, Heinz Kamps, Arthur Kaufmann, H. May, Walter Ophey, J. Rübsam, B. Sopher, Adolf Uzarski, and Otto von Wätjen.
- 42 The German text is as follows:
Grosses Ey, wir loben Dich,
Ey, wir preisen Deine Stärke,
Vor Dir neigt das Rheinland sich,
Kauft gern und billig Deine Werke.



Fig. 1 Peter Drömmmer, *Der Revolutionär (Selbstbildnis mit Weinglas)* [The Revolutionary [Self-Portrait with Wineglass]], 1919 (Cat. 37)

A Survey of Artists' Groups: Their Rise, Rhetoric, and Demise

The second-generation Expressionists were the true heirs of the founders of the movement: they grew up admiring those who had broken with the past. The poetry and pictures from the period before World War I were their inspiration, their icons, and they shared the concepts as they inherited the forms. Yet for them these earlier examples were of necessity a part of the past. The war, which had brought hunger, deprivation, and depression into everyone's lives, required of this second generation different images, new ways of expressing novel experiences. For them the works of the founding generation lacked the social concern and political commitment that the war years had engendered. While both generations opposed the war (although some artists, along with much of the population, adopted an antiwar stance only after the hunger year of 1916), it was the second generation that began to express in ever more pronounced and aggressive forms the common hope for a change in man and society. A new, strongly political aspect was added to Expressionism. Love of humankind, sympathy for the downtrodden, yearning for release from the loneliness of big cities: all this was shared by both generations.

The great anthologies of poetry that were published after the war contained those works that had appeared in small journals and magazines before the war; they are proof that these concerns were voiced before 1914, although they lacked the urgency that made the artists of the second generation distinct. Prior to World War I artists, intellectuals, the aesthetically sensitive, and the few sympathetic critics were aware of the importance of Expressionism, yet they formed a small minority. The populace at large was uninterested and unable to come to terms with the new forms and ideas that the Expressionist poets and the visual artists were presenting. In this respect the reception of Expressionism before the war was similar to that accorded to most new artistic developments in the past.

However, the Expressionists had their forceful mouthpieces: the journals *Der Sturm* (The Storm) and *Die Aktion* (Action) presented the new forms and ideas in both the graphic medium and poetry. There were a few galleries that exhibited the Expressionists, among which Arnold (Dresden), Cassirer (Berlin), Goltz (Munich), Gurlitt (Berlin), Richter (Dresden), Schames (Frankfurt) and Thannhauser (Munich) were the most

daring. The Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin, associated with the periodical of the same name, was especially active. Among publishers, only Ernst Rowohlt (Leipzig and Berlin) and Kurt Wolff (Leipzig and Munich) could be counted on to give the new writers a chance.

These activities were of necessity curtailed during the war by strict censorship and the lack of paints and paper, and the development of Expressionism slowed down. While the first-generation artists continued their work as circumstances permitted, many of the younger ones began to feel that the ideals articulated by their forerunners needed to be translated into action. Radical social change, revolution, determination to create a new world: once the pristine ideals of the first generation, they now became calls to action.

With the proclamation of the German Republic their time seemed finally to have come. Freed from censorship, reinforced by the return of so many artists from military service, Expressionism surged like a mighty wave and initiated what came to be called the Expressionist movement. The most characteristic aspect of this movement was the almost frenetic formation of new artists' groups, associations, and councils which themselves stimulated the appearance of Expressionist periodicals all over the country, the opening of a large number of galleries that were willing to show the works of the second generation in innumerable exhibitions, the publication of a great number of graphic portfolios, the presentation of lectures and poetry readings, and the signing of new authors by publishers. Even the theaters changed their playbills and began to present daringly new plays in unconventional forms.

This phenomenon of the multiplication of artists' groups had two sources. As in previous epochs artists felt the need to overcome their inherent isolation, but in this period, a dawning age of mass communication, there was the added recognition that only groups had a chance to be heard. While Berlin was the most prominent and vociferous center of the arts in Germany, the second-generation Expressionists were not limited to the capital but made their appearance in many cities. Beyond any doubt, the formation of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' Council for Art) in Berlin in December 1918 and, even more, the formation of the *Novembergruppe* (November Group) at the same time, served as a signal to artists throughout Germany.

The *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* began its first publication with the simple statement: "Convinced that the political revolution must be used to free the arts from the decades of tutelage, a circle of like-minded artists and friends of the arts has come together in Berlin.... Art and the people must form a unity. The arts shall no longer be the enjoyment of the few but the happiness and life of the masses. The goal is consolidation of the arts under the wings of a great architecture."

This was no emotional appeal for common efforts among artists, like so many of those issued previously. Instead, the group presented six demands addressed to the new government:

- 1) All further building activities should be considered to have a public character. One of the new tasks should be the building of Volkshäuser (houses of the people) as places to bring all the arts closer to the people. Continuous experimentation in building should be encouraged.
- 2) All academies of art should be disbanded and new schools formed on principles elaborated by productive artists. All restricted exhibitions should be changed into open ones.
- 3) The state should no longer influence the teaching of architecture, sculpture, painting, and crafts.
- 4) The museums should become educational institutions for the people, with regularly changing exhibitions accompanied by lectures and guided tours. A fair apportionment of funds must be ensured for the acquisition of old and of new works of art.
- 5) Artistically insignificant memorials should be removed. The planning of war memorials without due deliberation should cease and there should be an end to all planning for war museums.
- 6) A central authority should be established for the fostering of the arts.

While many of its demands are only understandable in the context of prewar circumstances, the manifesto of the *Novembergruppe* parallels these sentiments:

- I) The *Novembergruppe* is the German association of radical artists.
- II) The *Novembergruppe* is not an economic interest group and not a mere exhibition group.
- III) The *Novembergruppe* wants to gain decisive power in all artistic questions by uniting all like-minded creative persons.
- IV) We demand influence and the right to collaborate: 1) in all aspects of architecture in the public domain ... 2) in the reorganization of the art schools and their syllabuses ... 3) in the changes to be effected in the museums ... 4) in the allocation of exhibition space ... 5) in legislation affecting the arts.

The artists appeared to be willing to assist the newly established republic in changing society, while at the same time demanding a new role for the arts. We may justifiably speak of an Expressionist movement as a great many second-generation Expressionist artists in Germany subscribed to the ideas of the *Arbeitsrat* and the *Novembergruppe*. The basis of this movement were

the numerous artists' groups that developed in the post-war period. The artists belonging to them naturally had their individual styles, and differences of accentuation in their manifestos reflected local conditions, but in essence their goals were the same; these groups were the infrastructure of the Expressionist movement.

Bielefeld

The artists in the small city of Bielefeld, for instance, formed a group they ultimately called *Der Wurf* (The Venture). On December 15, 1919, Herbert Behrens-Hangeler, Hermann Freudenau, Heinz Lewerenz, and Erich Lossie issued a manifesto beginning with a call *An Alle!* (To Everybody!): "The artist ... will free 'the dying soul of Europe.' The people and the arts shall form a unit.... The artists no longer confine themselves to depicting parables or likenesses of nature.... Here nature, there art, both are creations." The artist should obey only one law: emotion. A flyer of 1920 proclaimed: "In economic terms the fellowship serves to guarantee its members the necessities of life."

For a while there were plans to create a *Wurf* "crystal village" during the summer (living quarters and studios for the members in the countryside). At the same time they also declared: "People are getting the mistaken idea that *Der Wurf* represents only what is currently called Expressionism. This is not so. We are working for all aspiring and creative human beings, whether they call themselves – or are called by others – Expressionists, Dadaists, or anything else.¹ The name is nothing to us.... *People* and *Art* must form a whole. Through his work, the artist will *make room* for the infinite to bring renewal to his heart."

A short time later Otto Griebel (from Dresden) and Carel Willink (from Amsterdam) joined *Der Wurf* and in October 1920 participated in its first exhibition, which was so large that it had to be hung at three separate locations. The exhibition was preceded by a number of poetry readings by Behrens-Hangeler, who through his brother, Franz Richard Behrens, had close contacts with the Berlin *Sturm*. The first night's program was not a particularly suitable choice for Bielefeld: Behrens-Hangeler read poetry by August Stramm, the most radical of the *Sturm* poets. In obvious reaction to the unfavorable response he scheduled works by more established poets for the next evenings, thus attempting to bridge the gap between what the group admired and what the public was willing to accept. (Behrens-Hangeler also read his own poetry at events organized by the *Novembergruppe*.) That these artists carefully watched developments elsewhere is demonstrated by their protest in defense of the Bauhaus in Weimar when it was attacked in the press. It is interesting to note that *Der Wurf* dispersed as a community as early as 1921,



Fig. 2 Richard Horn, *Aufbruch/Erwachen* (Departure/Awakening), 1919 (Cat. 106)

retaining its name only for performances and exhibitions, such as the very successful international exhibition of December 1924, in which forty-one artists were represented. The 1926 exhibition, however, received a rather lukewarm review in the local paper *Volkswacht* (December 10):

Der Wurf was started in the years of ferment that followed the war. The small initial group consisted of revolutionary modern painters who had made a deliberate break with tradition, young artists who were looking for a field of action and a style of their own. The first exhibition of *Der Wurf* caused something of a sensation in Bielefeld. The present show reveals that all those firebrands of a few years ago have lost something of their *Sturm und Drang*, and that some have even retreated into "academicism."

These and other activities were fruits of Behrens-Hangler's commitment. It is typical that, although denounced as a "degenerate" artist by the Nazis, in 1936 he still organized an exhibition of his own, now abstract, works and those of Johannes Molzahn in Berlin. Regardless of the close contacts that *Der Wurf* had with the *Novembergruppe* in Berlin, without Behrens-Hangler's drive the Bielefeld group would never have become a factor in the life of the small city.²

Halle

An obviously very different tone can be recognized in the bluntly stated manifesto of the *Künstlergruppe* (Artists' Group) in Halle: "What do we demand of the new state? We demand a secure material basis for independent artists and equality with other professions whose task it is to educate the people."³ In Halle they too believed in the Expressionist concept that art could change man and having changed man, society. Like the *Novembergruppe* and the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, the *Künstlergruppe* demanded reform of the art schools, participation of artists in the cultural decisions of the state, and equality for modern art with so-called established art. "What do we intend to give the state in return? We will assist the state in educating a mature, intellectually aware populace.... We want to mold the state's image, to enhance both its external and its internal prestige."

There were others in Halle who tried to realize the ideals of the *Künstlergruppe*. The architect Paul Thiersch, who in 1915 had become director of the *Handwerker- und Kunstgewerbeschule* (School of Arts and Crafts), had reorganized the school so that it could well be compared with the famous Bauhaus in Weimar founded in 1919.⁴ The modern artists and craftsmen in Halle had in him an influential and important spokesman. Sculptor Richard Horn who today still lives in Halle was affiliated with the *Künstlergruppe* (Fig. 2).

Magdeburg

The manifesto of the *Vereinigung für Neue Kunst und Literatur* (Association for New Art and Literature) in Magdeburg was couched in typically ecstatic language: "Once again art is becoming religion. No longer the occult lore of an esoteric coterie. No longer a hunted creature, cowering in some cave, far from the legal safeguards of the beaten track.... Brother reaches out his hand to brother, across the battlefields of France and Russia. What politics has destroyed, art will repair... through the deliverer of us all: Art."⁵ Thus even foreign policy was claimed as a legitimate field of activity for artists. Magdeburg did not see an Expressionist exhibition until 1926. The foreword for the catalogue was written by Kurt Pinthus, whose anthology *Menschheitsdämmerung* (Twilight of Mankind) was (and indeed still is) the most famous of all collections of Expressionist poetry.⁶

In 1919 the group premiered *Die Kugel, Zeitschrift für neue Kunst und Dichtung* (The Sphere, Journal for New Art and Poetry), another of those short-lived Expressionist publications; it began with an appeal to young poets and artists of the new republic to protect "the newborn freedom that still lies in a poor manger" and to work together in joyful spiritual community.



Fig. 3 Karl Völker, *Umbruch* (Upheaval), 1918 (Cat. 193)

The painter, graphic artist, and architect Karl Völker (Fig. 3) was the driving spirit of this group. His woodcuts, as well as those by other members – Franz Jan Bartel, Bruno Beye (Fig. 4), Max Dungert (Fig. 18, p. 51), and Alfred John – are visual parallels to the exuberant texts in the journal. H. H. Stuckenschmidt, the influential music critic, appealed for new music to be granted a chance to be heard and closed with the statement: "It is time that all the arts combined to work hand in hand. We must realize that all roads have only one goal: the great community of a better mankind." Robert Seitz, who later wrote libretti for Paul Hindemith, was also a member of the group. Like most of the other groups, they saw themselves as embracing all the arts.

Kiel

The *Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kiel* (Expressionist Working Group of Kiel) was another such group, in which Peter Drömmmer (Fig. 1), Werner Lange (Fig. 5), Adolph Meyer, and Peter Röhl were the outstanding painters. Like most groups of the second generation, this one also included writers and poets among

its members, organized lectures on modern art, and held poetry readings. The poet Gerhard Ausleger, also a member of the Dresden group of 1917, Heinar Schilling, who, as editor of the Dresden journal *Menschen* (Mankind), published a special issue for the group in July 1920, and Richard Blunck, who published an important theoretical contribution to Expressionism, *Der Impuls des Expressionismus* (The Impulse of Expressionism), belonged as well. They were, critic Gustav Friedmann stated in *Menschen*, "as a working community seeking fresh ways for man and for the spirit in the light of the new ethics."

According to the announcement of its formation on April 24, 1919, the group saw its role as consolidating belief in the new movement in the arts and pledged to work against all officially sanctioned arts. It is typical that the group's first public evening organized just a month after its formation, was a lecture by Ausleger titled "Revolutionizing the Arts," and the following one a lecture by the famous playwright Walter Hasenclever, who read his own political poetry before specially invited workers. The group found support in the journal *Die Schöne Rarität*, which had been appearing in Kiel since 1917. Its name, "The Beautiful Rarity," is somewhat misleading, for it was a monthly periodical for Expressionist poetry, prose, and original graphics. Special issues were devoted to Conrad Felixmüller, Wilhelm Morgner, and Georg Tappert. Also in Kiel was the November-Verlag (Hans Jaquemar), which pub-



Fig. 4 Bruno Beye, *Selbstbildnis II* (Self-Portrait II), 1921 (Cat. 10)

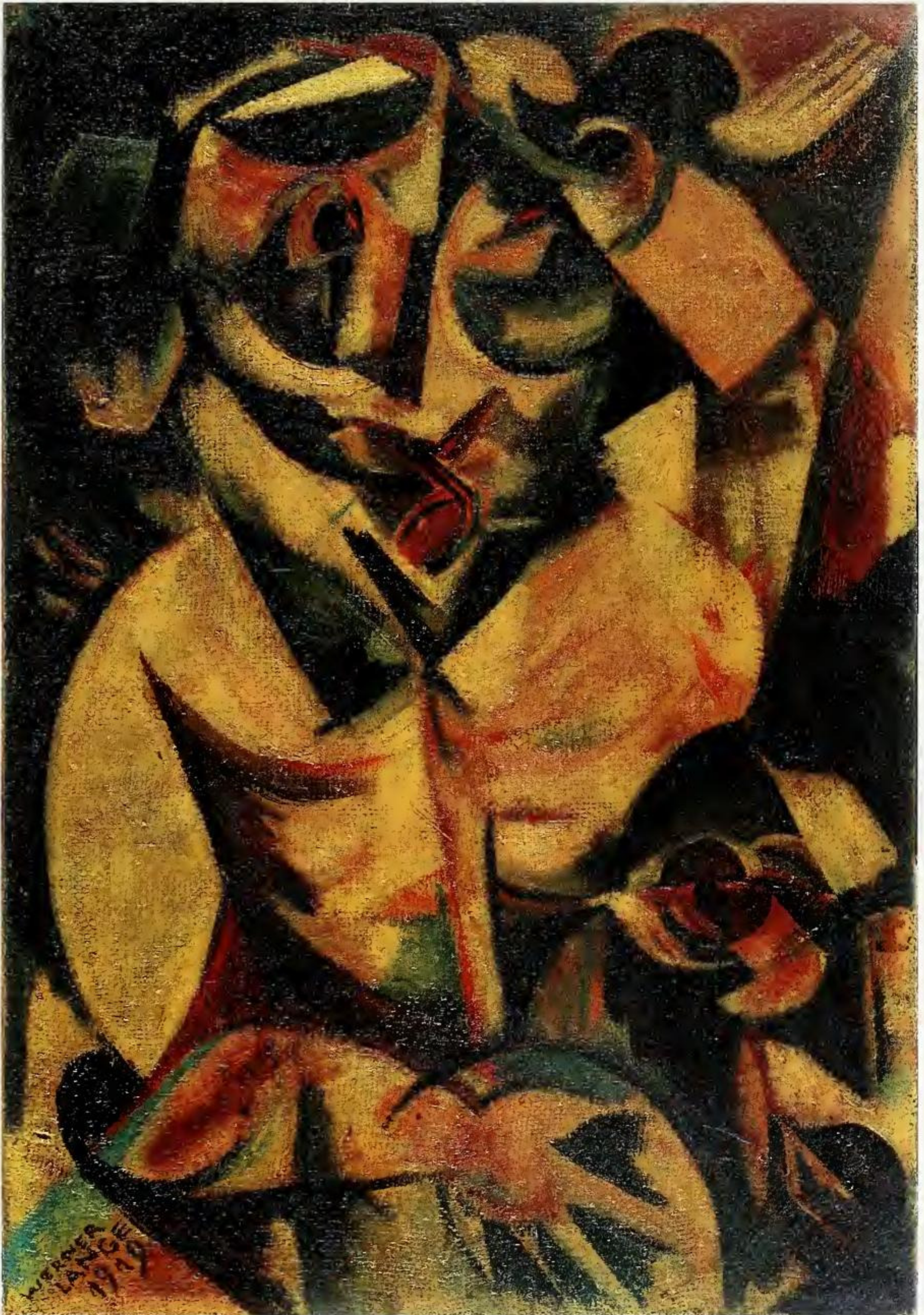


Fig. 5 Werner Lange, *Frauenportrait* [Portrait of a Woman], 1919 [Cat. 137]

lished under the name *Der Schwarze Turm* (The Black Tower) a series of small, inexpensive graphic books by artists of the second generation.⁷

Barmen

In Barmen (today a part of the city of Wuppertal) the Expressionist group called *Der Wupperkreis* (The Wupper Circle), and later simply *Die Wupper* (The Wupper), could count on two sources of support: Dr. Richard Reiche, director of the Kunstverein Barmen and curator of the Barmen Ruhmeshalle, and Professor Gustav Wiethuter and his students at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts). Jankel Adler, the best known of the group, was frequently absent from Barmen, making Walter Gerber and Kurt Nantke the driving forces among the painters, who also included Richard Paling and Ferdinand Roentgen. As everywhere else, the battle for recognition was a hard one. But the group did arouse the attention of the public when all over the city they put up posters that in form and in color were more "radical" than their own works. The shock worked well, for the opening of the exhibition at the Ruhmeshalle in 1919 was crowded. The group soon realized that Barmen would not be able to sustain all the members (and the other artists who had now joined) financially, and quickly established relations with galleries and other groups in Dusseldorf. Exhibitions there, however, found mixed critical response. The dissolution of the group was due to shifting interests and to some of the members' growing involvement in Rudolph Steiner's anthroposophy, which had gained many adherents during the war.⁸

Erfurt

The *Künstlergruppe Jung-Erfurt* (Artists' Group Young Erfurt), formed by Alfred Hanf, Robert Huth, the architect Theo Kellner, and others in early 1919, published a flyer calling for the strengthening of the new arts and held its first exhibition on December 17 of that year. This received mixed reviews, and not only in the local press. The group seems to have drifted apart rather quickly, although it had set up the *Stierpresse* (Bull Press) for the publication of its graphic work; the press also folded within a year.

Chemnitz

The only claim to fame of the *Künstlergruppe Chemnitz* (Artists' Group Chemnitz) was in the form of a small book titled *Künstler am Wege* (Artists at the Wayside), published in 1927, when the fuss surrounding the sec-

ond generation had long since died away. It is hardly surprising that, except in the works of Martha Schrag, no Expressionist tendencies are to be found.

Lubeck

Things were different in Lubeck, where the *Overbeck-Gesellschaft* (Overbeck Society), founded in 1918, tried to introduce modern art to a rather staid city of around 100,000 inhabitants. There was already another artists' group active in the city, the *Vereinigung Lübecker Bildender Künstler* (Lubeck Association of Visual Artists) which functioned primarily at a local level to protect the economic interests of its members. A battle ensued when the famous Carl Georg Heise (coeditor with Hans Mardersteig of the important yearbook *Genius*) became director of the local museum, St. Annen. An exhibition of Emil Nolde's well-known religious paintings, the suggestion that Ludwig Gies's crucifix should be used as a war memorial, and Heise's enthusiasm for the works of Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and the Expressionists in general angered many artists and were far too radical for the populace. Heise tried to give the new arts and the second generation more exposure by converting the brick Gothic church of St. Katharina into a center for arts (it had been used for trade exhibitions). His plan to have the niches on the façade filled with statues by Ernst Barlach remained unfulfilled. Only three works were completed by Barlach; the rest were added by Gerhard Marcks after World War II.

While there was no typical second-generation group in Lubeck, the lines of battle over the Expressionist arts were clearly drawn. In this case, however, it was the museum director and the *Overbeck-Gesellschaft* (consisting of a few important individuals who supported the director and his far-sighted acquisitions policy) who had to fight both the general public and an archconservative artists' group. This was another way in which Expressionism had to fight for its acceptance.⁹

Munster

Developments in Munster were less controversial. Although their programmatic statement sounded the same note as that of other groups, *Die Schanze* (The Rampart) was a kind of mild secession.

"Be visible! Build a rampart toward the sunrise, in the midst of the life of these times and the world, as a sign of unity and of sharing the same fate. Close the gates to the hands of gold. Open the drawbridge to your friends...." The language is typical, and the twenty-four-year-old painter Bernhard Peppinghege tried, together with five friends, to achieve the same sort of impact as the other groups.

On the occasion of the group's second exhibition, in 1923, one critic noted approvingly that it lacked the surprises of the previous year's exhibition. "A year ago a few works were exhibited which were remarkable for their massive chromatic impact. The impetuosity has become milder, the first storm seems to have subsided." It was the large number of literary and musical evenings, rather than the exhibitions, that kept the young group in the forefront of the not always particularly sympathetic attention of the public. But its balanced and relatively liberal approach made *Die Schanze* one of the few groups to have survived to the present day.¹⁰

Dusseldorf

Quite different in its tempo and activities was *Das Junge Rheinland* (The Young Rhineland), which was founded in Dusseldorf on February 24, 1919, by the painter and writer Adolph Uzarski and the writer Herbert Eulenberg. Heinrich Nauen (Fig. 7), who became president for a short time, Carlo Mense, and others joined, and in June 1919 the group hung its first exhibition with works by more than one hundred artists, a sign that the group was not exclusively Expressionist. [The artists of *Das Junge Rheinland* are discussed in detail in Friedrich Heckmanns's essay in this volume.]

Problems with another, older exhibition organization led to the group's moving into a new gallery called *Neue Kunst Frau Ey* (New Art: Frau Ey). There a very different phase of the battle for the new art began. The group had



Fig. 6 Rudolf Belling, *Bildnis Alfred Flechtheim* (Portrait of Alfred Flechtheim), 1927 (Cat. 7)



Fig. 7 Heinrich Nauen, *Bildnis Wollheim* (Portrait of Wollheim), 1924 (Cat. 153)

vowed to "win for young Rhineland artists, at long last, the place in German artistic life that is their due," and Johanna Ey was a formidable ally. At the core of Mother Ey's group was the aggressive and political *Aktivistebund 1919* (Activist League 1919), where Otto Pankok, Franz W. Seiwert, Gert Wollheim (Fig. 8), and later Otto Dix, Werner Gilles, Adalbert Trillhase, and others met.

Another center in Dusseldorf was also important for the arts: Alfred Flechtheim's gallery. Before the war Flechtheim (Fig. 6) had dealt primarily in works by mod-



Fig. 8 Gert Wollheim, *Männerkopf* (Head of a Man), c. 1920 (Cat. 201)

ern French artists, but later he provided exhibition space for Max Burchartz, Heinrich Campendonk, Otto Gleichmann, Walter Ophey, and other members of *Das Junge Rheinland*, and published portfolios of graphic work by Burchartz and Gleichmann. In 1919, however, Flechtheim fiercely attacked the first issue of the *Buch des Aktivistenbundes* (Book of the Activist League) as "disgusting" and its graphics as unworthy of the name "art." Wollheim retaliated, declaring the gallery owner to be a jumping-jack who served no useful purpose and only had financial interests at heart. For the artists of *Das Junge Rheinland* further collaboration with Flechtheim was now impossible. The dealer began to publish *Der Querschnitt* (The Cross-section), a witty monthly journal with great snob appeal, in which, from the very first issue in January 1921, he fought a relentless battle against Expressionism in general and *Das Junge Rheinland* in particular. In 1922 *Der Querschnitt* featured an editorial by Hermann von Wedderkop which declared: "Nobody wants the Expressionist proletariat-pictures or works by the worker-poets; sooner Kaiser Wilhelm and his Ganghofer [nineteenth-century author of sentimental novels]. . . . Art is an awkward topic for the Germans; this has something to do with the nature of their genius . . . so organized by Nature as to unfurl great billowing banners of inanity over it Expressionism as a feature of the German temperament ought to survive only in

folksong."¹¹ More tolerant was another journal appearing in Dusseldorf, *Das Kunstfenster* (The Art Window), a critical weekly edited by Karl Roettger devoted, according to its subtitle, *Düsseldorfer kritische Wochenschrift für alle Künste* (Dusseldorf Critical Weekly for all the Arts), to serving the interests of all art. Since the battlelines were so clearly drawn, its middle-of-the-road stance found little acceptance, and it folded after seven months.

Darmstadt

One of the secessions that sprang up after the war was formed in 1919 in Darmstadt, where the battle for the new art was as harsh as everywhere else. Formed in 1918 the *Hessischer Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Hessian Workers' Council for Arts) was the local branch of the Berlin group, but before it could become effective, another group, the *Vertretung der Bildenden Künstler Hessens* (Representation of the Visual Artists of Hesse), had formed. Thus, here too the lines were sharply drawn.

The *Darmstädter Sezession* was formed in 1919, with Max Beckmann, Josef Eberz, Kasimir Edschmid, Ludwig Meidner, and Wilhelm Michel among its first members. They announced that the appalling standard

of exhibitions being held at the time was a clear sign of the need for the foundation of such a group, especially as the bourgeoisie was likely to boycott the new art unless a vigorous opposition was mounted in its defense.

The Secession was able to put together one of the most important exhibitions of the period in strained collaboration with the *Ständiger Rat zur Pflege der Kunst* (Permanent Council for the Cultivation of Art) and the *Verband Bildender Künstler* (Association of Visual Artists). Subsidized by the state of Hesse and the city, the endeavor brought 673 works to public view. The catalogue for this exhibition, entitled *Deutscher Expressionismus Darmstadt* (German Expressionism Darmstadt), began with an essay by Edschmid, then the president of the Secession, in which he bitterly attacked the "followers" of Expressionism in general. "I am against the Expressionism that today affords titillation and edification to clergymen's daughters and factory-owners' wives.... What once seemed a daring gesture has today become routine. The thrust forward of the day before yesterday became the gimmick of yesterday and the big yawn of today." This attack on the second-rate, the imitators, may indeed have been necessary, but it was of no help to the public: those who were against Expressionist forms and colors were elated, while those who were trying to come to terms with the movement felt bewildered.

Darmstadt had heard such things before. In 1915 a group of five high-school students, including Pepy Würth, had formed an idealistic society "for the furtherance of culture" and begun to publish *Die Dachstube* (The Attic) in the attic of the Würth family residence. Other members later included Theodor Haubach and Carlo Mierendorff (both to become important figures in the resistance against Hitler), Carl Gunschmann and Fritz Usinger. With advice and assistance from Edschmid and Michel they called upon the young to create a better life. They published sixty-five leaflets and small booklets, frequently with original graphics. In 1919 they announced:

Die Dachstube is done with. It served to gather, to sift, and to school us. Now something more is wanted: to trace the outline of the new world, and to fight for it. Silence is betrayal. A new public is on the march. The age affords us greater goals. We now set up *Das Tribunal* (The Tribunal). We stand for the New, against the Decaying.... *Das Tribunal*, a mouthpiece for all the young and radical minds of Hesse and Germany. Against prejudice, without compromise, for decision.

The list of illustrators for the books and for *Das Tribunal* is a Who's Who of second-generation artists. It ceased publication in 1921, its goals unattained, its hopes unfulfilled. Times had changed.¹²

Karlsruhe

Karlsruhe saw similar developments after the war. The announcement of the official formation of the *Kunst-*

und Kulturrat für Baden (Art and Cultural Council for Baden) appeared in December 1918, the result of two very different initiatives. Dr. Hans Kampffmeyer, an advocate of the garden city movement, had suggested forming a *Rat Geistiger Arbeiter* (Council of Intellectual Workers) following the Berlin example, which was to represent "cultural political ideals on a socialistic basis." These councils were intended to ensure that not only political issues but issues in all areas of public life were decided by the people. One of the roots of the demand for such councils was distrust of the government and the political parties as regards their concern for the arts.

Not far away, however, in Heidelberg (also in the state of Baden), the literary historian Richard Benz, and the poet Alfred Mombert argued for a *Kulturrat* (Cultural Council) which would be less dictatorial, less modernistic, and more concerned with those forms of art to which the public could respond more readily: the paintings of Hans Thoma were cited as a positive example. The program contained the following statement: "It [the *Kunst- und Kulturrat für Baden*] demands an art that serves neither entertainment and luxury nor the one-sided cultivation of the senses and the intellect, but, as the expression of the highest spiritual values of the nation, will speak to the people as a whole." The conservatism and nationalism evident in statements of this nature make it clear that Expressionism in Karlsruhe or Heidelberg did not have an easy time of it.

A case in point was the 1919 exhibition of works by Rudolf Schlichter and Wladimir Zabotin (both living in Karlsruhe at the time) in the small Moos gallery. The critical response was so devastating that the art historian Wilhelm Fraenger attempted to open the minds of the public with a number of lectures. He managed to persuade a few critics to adopt at least a semineutral position, but the general consensus remained negative.

In reaction, seven artists formed a group to promote the new arts (Expressionism) and oppose the still predominant academic mode: Schlichter and Zabotin were joined by Walter Becker, Oskar Fischer, Egon Itta, Georg Scholz, and Eugen Segewitz. (Karl Hubbuch and Wilhelm Schnarrenberger were close friends of the group.) They called themselves *Rih*, the name of an arab stallion in the books of Karl May. This was more a group of friends than a typical Expressionist organization, although they claimed to be part of the Berlin *Novembergruppe*, and their goals and hopes echoed those expressed in other second-generation manifestos:

To preserve... subjective freedom, in utter contrast to the dubious ethics of society's art, with its subservience to commercial interests... freedom and autonomy of the individual.... It [the new art] seeks to overthrow convention, which means it must set itself apart. It is concerned with giving full recognition to the expressive forms proper to art that runs counter to society – the art of children and the sick – seeing these forms in accordance

with their own criteria: not as rational, conscious achievements but as an expressive idiom with laws of its own, which our cognitive equipment must be enabled to recognize and value.¹³

When we consider the gulf between Zabotin's abstractions and Scholz's more illustrative and aggressive works, and the early trend to *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), it is obvious that except for the common "No" to the academic past and the demand for individual freedom of expression, this was not a stylistically coherent group. The intolerance of the conservative forces must be noted: they had seriously suggested prohibiting such groups from ever exhibiting again. Only the strongly worded defense of freedom of expression by the conservative painter Engelhardt ensured the rejection of this proposal. The *Rih* group held a number of exhibitions outside Karlsruhe (for instance in Frankfurt). Schlichter and Scholz addressed an open letter to the *Novembergruppe* protesting the noticeable trend away from radicalism which they saw being favored in Berlin. They considered the recognition of "prominent unproletarian" artists a betrayal of the original program. *Rih* soon broke up.

Hamburg

The conditions in Hamburg were quite different, as were the various forms of artists' associations. The *Kunstverein* (Art Society), founded in 1827, was the largest and most conservative, with approximately one thousand members. In 1919 *Kräfte* (Powers, Forces), a branch of the Berlin *Novembergruppe*, was formed by Kinner von Dresler, Alexander Friedrich, and Dr. T.-W. Danzel. A typical second-generation Expressionist group, *Kräfte* published three issues of an eponymous journal under Dresler's editorship. It was similar in style to *Menschen* and featured a number of woodcuts and literary contributions from *Der Sturm*.

In his lyric poems, Willy Knobloch was influenced by August Stramm and Lothar Schreyer; the epigonal woodcuts of Peter Luksch, his fifteen-year-old son Andreas, and those of F. Wuesten could have been created anywhere in Germany; and Danzel's essay "European Crisis, Oriental Form, Mythical Spirit" echoes many contemporary attempts to define Expressionism:

But Expressionism is not the will of a few; it is destiny. And in the close affinity that links its works there lies a deeper meaning: not adherence to a school, or to some common "goal," but: "Art begins to emerge from the collective psyche," and the personal begins to recede and give place to "the great anonymity of a new universality," a collective emotion which creates connections between man and things.... A style is already defining itself with almost monumental, heraldic clarity; the soul-stirring strains of a new psalm evoke intimations of great cathedrals; and if certain barely detectable signs do not deceive us, a new doctrine of salvation and of the universe, far removed from all sectarian apologetics and dogmatic exegesis, is on the way.

This ecstatic projection and its visual framework, typical as it was, did not have the strength to make it artistically important.

The representative of the Berlin *Sturm* in Hamburg was Schreyer, who organized *Sturm* evenings with recitations, exhibitions of *Sturm* artists and, together with the *Frauenbund zur Förderung Neuer Deutscher Kunst* (Women's Association for the Promotion of New German Art), founded in 1916 by the art historian Rosa Schapire (Fig. 10), an exhibition of works by Lyonel Feininger, Wassily Kandinsky, and Paul Klee in the Hamburg Kunsthalle as early as 1917. Schreyer was an outstanding theater reformer whose expressionistic *Kampfbühne* (Stage Militant), opened in 1919, was an attempt to revolutionize form and structure in the theater. These activities were interrupted when Schreyer joined the Bauhaus in 1921.

The Hamburg *Künstlerrat* (Artists' Council), which was formed during the revolutionary days of 1918 and consisted of four painters, three sculptors, three architects, and two craftsmen did not influence artistic developments in Hamburg. Its task was to provide the city council with suggestions for assisting artists and the arts during this sometimes chaotic period.

An artists' group that had a much stronger impact in Hamburg was the *Hamburgische Sezession* (Hamburg

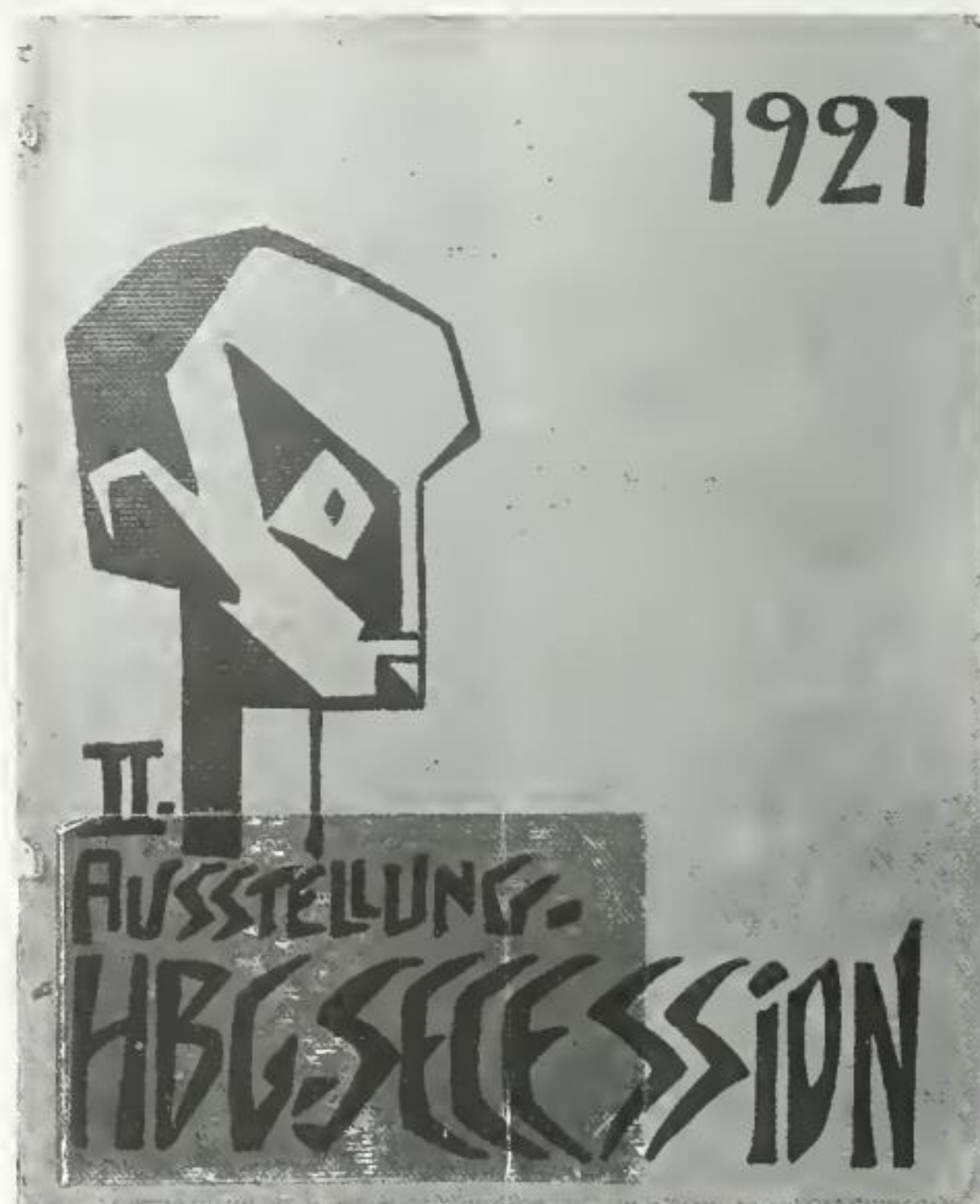


Fig. 9 Dorothea Maetzel-Johannsen, cover of *Katalog der Zweiten Ausstellung der Hamburgischen Sezession* (Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of the Hamburg Secession), woodcut, 1920, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies



Fig. 10 Walter Gramatté, *Bildnis Rosa Schapire* [Portrait of Rosa Schapire], 1920 [Cat. 80]

Secession; Fig. 9), which Heinrich Steinhagen founded with the sculptor Friedrich Wield and with Alma del Banco, Willy Davidson, Erich Maetzel, Dorothea Maetzel-Johannsen, Karl Prahl, William Tegtmeier, and others in the summer of 1919. The foreword to the catalogue of their first exhibition in December 1919 pointed out: "In the last twenty years the names even of small towns have sometimes gained a fine reputation

because artists' associations have been formed in them. Hamburg's name has never been mentioned in this connection." The reason why so many gifted artists had left Hamburg was to be found in their need for a supportive milieu, which the city did not supply. Accordingly, young Hamburg artists combined to create such a milieu. "The name *Hamburgische Sezession* is not intended to announce that these artists want to appear



Fig. 11 Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Cover of *Die Rote Erde* (The Red Earth), vol. 1, no. 8/10, 1920.

with a new artistic program. But they would not be young if their will did not point to the future. The works in this first exhibition are evidence of tolerance toward any [stylistic] direction."¹⁴ They vowed intolerance only of "all spiritless handicraft." They did insist, however, in all following exhibitions that they be given more space than their numbers would have merited and demanded that their group affiliation be mentioned in the catalogues.

These young artists could always count on the support of a group of influential personalities who immediately after the revolution had formed the *Werkbund Geistiger Arbeiter* (Working Association of Intellectual Workers).¹⁵ Its chairman was Gustav Schiefler, a high-ranking judge, whose publications in support of Expressionism paralleled the activities of Schapire, who had steadfastly supported the work of *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) in publications and lectures.

Schapire was coeditor with Karl Lorenz of an outstanding Expressionist journal, *Die Rote Erde* (The Red Earth; Fig. 11). The tenor of its opening announcement is familiar: "*Die Rote Erde* cultivates with all means at its disposal the newest Expressionist art. *Die Rote Erde* is the only journal in the world that has set itself the task of preparing the earth for the great human race to come. All artists of our times who are of importance for this humanity-earth work contribute to *Die Rote Erde*." This journal, though well produced and with many original graphics, did not survive long.

Another short-lived journal was *Kündigung* (Herald). It was edited by Wilhelm Niemeyer and Schapire and was the mouthpiece of the *Kunstbund Hamburg* (Art League Hamburg), another ephemeral Expressionist organization. The luxuriously printed journal appeared for just one year, although it had a staunch supporter in the newly appointed director of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Museum for Art and Crafts), Max Sauerland.

No less than three hundred works by contemporary artists were acquired by this important defender of Expressionism, whose progressive exhibitions were examples for many other museum directors.

Hanover

Hanover did not really need another second-generation artists' group such as the *Kestner-Gesellschaft* (Kestner Society), which was founded in 1916 with the support of a group of well-established and respected citizens and provided exhibition opportunities for both the founder generation and the younger generation. Under the leadership of Dr. Paul Erich Kueppers the society also organized all the other kinds of activities that the groups of the second generation in other cities employed to open the minds of the public: lectures, concerts, and theatrical performances.

One artists' group, the *Hannoversche Sezession* (Hanover Secession; Fig. 13), did form in 1917 after a very large exhibition of Hanover artists made it obvious that the selection had not been based on quality. The founders of the Secession wanted to dissociate themselves from the "painting trade that today calls itself art and from the simulated Expressionism of the semi-educated." The group did not have a program, nor did it issue a manifesto, but the catalogue for its first exhibition used the familiar terminology. "In our exhibition of Hanover art we intend to show that a new art is evolving, in Hanover as elsewhere; and that in Hanover too there is a lofty, burning impulse to achieve the renewal, the purification, the liberation of art." There were tensions in the Secession, which became obvious when Bernhard Doerries, in the foreword of the catalogue to the third exhibition in 1920, called for a return to the lessons provided by the Old Masters: "Expressionism pinpoints the true extent of man's intellectual isolation and the complete absence of any all-embracing sense of community." Five of the members – Max Burchartz, Otto Gleichmann (Fig. 12) and his wife, Lotte Gleichmann-Giese, Otto Hohlt, and Kurt Schwitters – published a protest: "For us, art is always a formalized expression of religious experience...." The Secession took this protest seriously and continued to be a modern exhibition association, enjoying the support of Kueppers.

Since Hanover later grew in political importance when Marshal Hindenburg became president of the Weimar Republic (the fact that he lived there was grist to the mill of the strong right-wing faction in the city), it should be mentioned that immediately after the revolution, on November 16, 1918, a *Rat Geistiger Arbeiter* issued the following statement: "Convinced that the present change will bring a just order in which the spirit can develop freely and without bondage, the undersigned profess that they enthusiastically salute the



Fig. 12 Otto Gleichmann, *Sitzender Mädchenakt/Die Katze* [Seated Nude Girl/The Cat], 1920 (Cat. 69)



Fig. 13 Wilhelm Plünnecke, *Hannoversche Sezession* (Hanover Secession), 1918 (Cat. 165)

dawn of a new era. We are witnessing the birth of a people's state and of the social republic." The signatories were the sculptor Otto Gothe, a member of the Hanover Secession, Dr. Ernst Kantorowitz, and Paul Steegemann, publisher of the avant-garde series *Die Silbergäule* (The Silver Horses). Up to 1922 over 150 issues appeared, including Heinrich Vogeler's *Über den Expressionismus der Liebe* (Concerning the Expressionism of Love; no. 12), Schwitters's *Anna Blume* (38-39), and Richard Huelsenbeck's *En avant DADA* (50-51).

In Hanover, as elsewhere, journals sprang up to defend the new art. *Das hohe Ufer* (The High Shore; Fig. 14), edited by Hans Kaiser, appeared from 1919 through 1920 and set itself the task of freeing Hanover from its provinciality. *Der Zweemann*, coedited by Christof Spengemann, F.W. Wagner, and from the fourth issue, by the poet Hans Schiebelhuth as well, had a fresher voice, proselytizing for Expressionist literature and art (with many original graphics); it also ceased publication in 1920.

F. Busack, Grete Juergens, Carl Thorn, and other members of the Secession later evolved in the direction of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and Schwitters began to work on his "Merz Art" concept. Most of the Hanover artists, however, shared the fate of many of their generation: they were barely remembered in later years.¹⁶

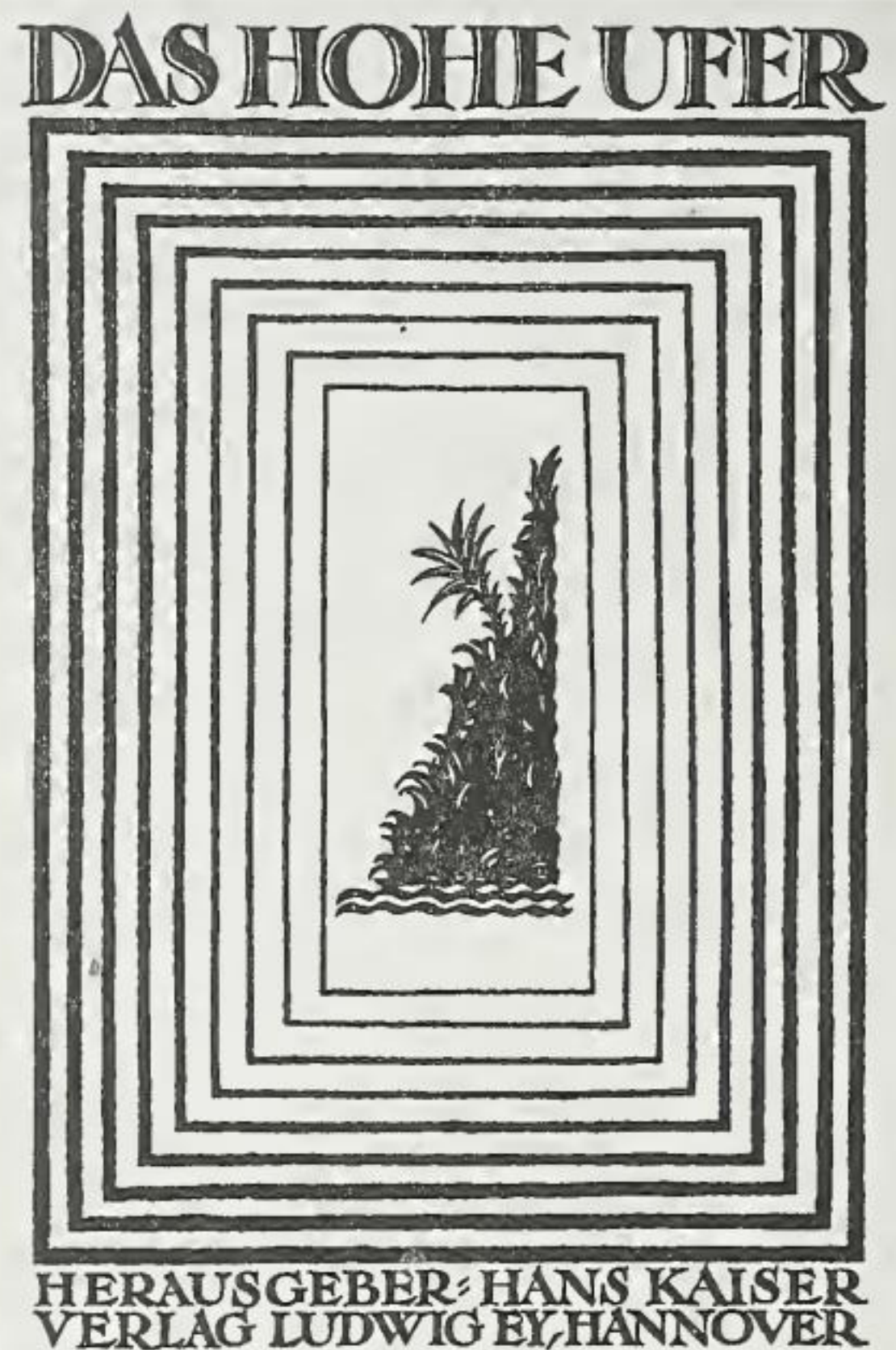


Fig. 14 Title page of *Das hohe Ufer* (The High Shore), vol. 2, 1920

Hagen

The small city of Hagen had become famous in 1902 when Karl Ernst Osthaus founded the Folkwang Museum. The history of this establishment would require a chapter to itself; for our purposes, it is interesting to note that Osthaus gathered round him a number of artists who belonged to the second generation. There were Willy Lammer, the sculptor; Johan Thorn Prikker, painter and glass artist; Christian Rohlf, by far the oldest of the local Expressionists (Fig. 15); Max Schulze-Sölde, painter, bohemian, and social reformer;¹⁷ Milly Steger, sculptress; and August Voswinkel, batik artist. All of these obtained commissions from or through Osthaus. In the chaotic days at the end of the war Herwarth Walden, the poetess Else Lasker-Schüler, and the anarchist Hugo Hartwig found a refuge in Hagen. Thus there existed an important circle of artists and intellectuals around the museum and its founder, but it disintegrated shortly after Osthaus's death in 1922.¹⁸

Stuttgart

Another interesting phenomenon was the *Üecht-Gruppe* (Uecht Group) in Stuttgart, formed in 1918 after

an exhibition of works by Willi Baumeister and Oskar Schlemmer in the local Schaller gallery had caused public controversy. After his discharge from the armed forces Schlemmer had been elected spokesman for the students of the Stuttgart Academy and at the same time delegate to the *Rat Geistiger Arbeiter*, also formed in Stuttgart. When the greatly admired painter Adolf Hölzel resigned after a quarrel with the governors of the academy, Baumeister, Schlemmer, and their friends tried to have Klee appointed to his position. To add greater weight to their proposal and to a number of suggestions for the reform of the Academy, they formed, with Gottfried Graf, Edmund Daniel Kinzinger, Albert Mueller, and Hans Spiegel, the *Üecht Gruppe*. Whilst their proposal and suggestions were not accepted, these six students organized an impressive exhibition, the *Herbstausstellung Neuer Kunst* (Fall Exhibition of New Art), with seventy of their own works and a larger number of works from the Sturm gallery in Berlin. One room was devoted to works by Klee. The group held a second exhibition in the fall of 1920. Graf stated in the catalogue: "For the discerning the new art is no longer a point of controversy.... To understand the new art, however, one must understand the new language of form.... Here we are still only a few. Our second exhibition shows the work of one year. It is one step further in the search for the way at the dawning of a new day."



Fig. 15 Heinrich Nauen, *Bildnis Christian Rohlfs* (Portrait of Christian Rohlf), 1919 (Cat. 151)

In 1921 Baumeister and Schlemmer left the group because their interests and artistic orientations were no longer compatible with those of the other members. The remaining members kept the group alive as an exhibition association until 1924. Although none of these artists could be considered bona fide Expressionists, they belonged to the new generation and shared many of the ideas expressed in the various manifestos.¹⁹

Munich

Next to Berlin, Munich had always been considered the second center of German art. The revolution had a different aspect in Munich, since for a short time there actually was a revolutionary government there. The history of this period is a bloody one of terror from both the left-wing, with its brief span of political power, and the ultimately victorious right. As nearly everywhere else, a *Rat Bildender Künstler* (Council of Visual Artists) was formed, here by twelve different organizations with approximately two thousand members. In February 1919, at the beginning of the Munich revolution, an *Aktionsausschuss Revolutionärer Künstler* (Action Committee of Revolutionary Artists) was formed by the artists Walt Laurent, Theodor C. Pilartz, the Dadaist Hans Richter, Lessi Valeska Sachs, Fritz Schaefer, Georg Schrimpf, Stanislaus Stückgold, and Aloys Wach (Aloys Ludwig Wachelmeier), the publishers H. F. S. Bachmair, Felix Stierner, and Eduard Trautner (editor of the journal *Der Weg* [The Way]), and other writers and intellectuals.

While a civil war was being fought in the streets, no important artistic activity could be expected, but a few second-generation artists did take an active part in the battle for a new order. Wach's political woodcuts were the first pictures ever printed by the main Munich newspaper, the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, which the *Aktionsausschuss* had taken over. These Expressionist works, with titles like *Auferstehung* (Resurrection), *Freiheit* (Freedom), and *Erlösung* (Redemption), and their accompanying texts such as "Long live the Soviet Republic [of Bavaria]!", "Proletarians and farmers unite!" and "Brother workers! The sun of our times has risen," were typical of the harsh, ecstatic creations of many second-generation artists. The proletarians, whom they were trying to win for the revolution, were shocked by these unfamiliar representations. Wach, however, sincerely believed that the people would have to learn to understand his works because his was the art that would dominate the new revolutionary state. He also made woodcuts for the masthead of a second paper, the *Süddeutsche Freiheit, Zeitung für das Neue Deutschland* (South German Freedom, Newspaper for the New Germany), and contributed graphics to *Der Weg* (ten issues appeared between January and the end of 1919).

Dr. L. W. Coellen, also a member of the *Aktionsausschuss*, wrote in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (April 9, 1919) about the new art:

This is art that springs from the spirit of brotherhood and all-embracing fellowship, the spirit of the living mass movement that engenders its forms and shines through it. . . . Art today, now that there is a new culture to create, is an indispensable and essential means to the external and internal organization of social life. . . . Have a little patience and you will come to love these forms that now so disturb you; you will feel at home with them when they come to be the forms of your life.

Art, which had never had a place in the life (or education) of the masses, was now called upon to help shape political consciousness. In 1919 Richter made the first roll-pictures as forerunners of the abstract films he later made with Viking Eggeling. After his experience in Munich he never again painted figurative works.

Wach had long been forgotten when the Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibited some of his works, which had by lucky chance survived. Laurent, the only strictly abstract painter of the group, is still awaiting rediscovery, as are so many others. Schrimpf later became one of the leaders of the Munich group of *Neue Sachlichkeit* artists (together with Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, Alexander Kanoldt, and Carlo Mense). Once the revolution had reached its bloody end and the political right had triumphed, Bachmair, Sachs, and Trautner were imprisoned for their political activities, Schaeffler, Stierner, and Wach fled, Stückgold went to France, and Richter to the United States.²⁰

*

This survey of a few groups of second-generation artists could easily be extended. The titles of journals founded or sponsored by similar groups between 1918 and 1925 are illustrative of the ethos of the age: *Der Anbruch* (The Beginning), *Die Erhebung* (The Rising), *Feuer* (Fire), *Die Freude* (Joy), *Das Junge Deutschland* (The Young Germany), *Der Morgen* (The Morning), *Neue Jugend* (New Youth), *Das Neue Pathos* (The New Pathos), *Revolution*, *Der Ruf* (The Call), *Zeit-Echo* (Echo of the Times).

Why after just a few years of intense activity all over Germany did second-generation Expressionism vanish from the artistic scene almost as suddenly as it had appeared? The various groups did not publish manifestos to explain their dissolution; and it would be necessary to reconstruct the biography of each artist to find the time and place when Expressionism ceased to be the motivating force in his work. Obituaries for Expressionism, however, began to appear as early as 1920, and their number increased each year until the interest

in Expressionism had faded by 1925. It would be tempting to declare 1922 as the official end of Expressionism: in that year Paul Westheim launched an inquiry in the journal *Das Kunstblatt* (The Art Paper) as to whether a "new naturalism" could be observed in Germany. Three years later, in 1925, the great exhibition entitled *Neue Sachlichkeit* opened in the Kunsthalle Mannheim, embracing former Expressionists and those who had never been Expressionists at all. Expressionism, which had demanded too much empathy from its public was replaced by a new formal concept characterized by an often frightening harshness, a critical sobriety, and a return to precise natural depictions.

Since second-generation Expressionism had such strong social, political, and often religious undertones, the best explanations for its demise can be found in the newspapers of the time, not on the cultural pages, but in the economic and political sections. The revolution which was to have changed society never really took place. Hardship did not come to an end with the establishment of the republic: reparations and payments in kind to the Allies kept living standards low, though of course there were a fair number who profited from the shortages, to the embitterment of the poor and often hungry masses. The middle class was almost wiped out by the devastating inflation of 1923-24. The "golden" twenties had their dark side and, while socially conscious artists found a wealth of subject matter on their doorsteps, the conditions in which they were forced to live made a stark contrast to their idealistic visions. Some changed their approach and style, became landscape and portrait artists, toned down their palettes, avoided stark deformations, and produced works that sold to a public weary of the emotional force of Expressionism.

Hope, the chief ingredient of second-generation Expressionism, had died. The fervent and rhapsodic promise that the arts could and would change man and society had remained unfulfilled. The intolerance and apathy of the greater part of this society had not changed; the government still considered art a luxury. Since Expressionism had gained a limited popularity, it became suspect to those who had hoped for a truly revolutionary, proletarian art and even more suspect to those who saw in it a refutation of the decorative role of the arts. It is no accident that the Nazis declared Expressionism to be "degenerate art," since it lacked the heroic scenes, the chaste Nordic nudes, and the uplifting depictions of a Nature that would make a worthy home for the "master race."

The attempt to make art into a sociopolitical weapon as well as a spiritually guiding light had failed.

Notes

All translations by the author.

This essay was made possible by the appointment as Scholar-in-Residence by the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation and the Visiting Senior-Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Expressions of gratitude are also due to the Akademie der Künste, Berlin; the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden; the Deutsche Bibliothek, Leipzig; the Deutsches Literatur-Archiv Marbach; and the numerous friends who shared their knowledge freely.

- 1 The other two important artistic movements of the period were Dadaism and *Neue Sachlichkeit*. The Dadaists, in Zurich from 1916 and in Berlin from 1918, were against Expressionism, and their overwhelming "No" to all developments in the arts and in politics made them outspoken enemies of the Expressionist groups. New Objectivity first began to make its mark around 1925 and thus entered the artistic discussion only after most of the Expressionist groups had dispersed.
- 2 Herbert Behrens-Hangeler, exhibition catalogue no. 20 of the Galerie am Sachsenplatz, Leipzig (Leipzig, 1981); Hermann Freudenau and Heinz Lewerenz, catalogue of exhibition held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Bielefeld, in 1981. Grateful acknowledgment is made for information and documents received from Mrs. Dorothea Behrens, Fredersdorf, and Mrs. A. C. Willink, Amsterdam.
- 3 Diether Schmidt, ed., *Manifeste Manifeste 1905-1933*, vol. 1 (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1965), pp. 179-80.
- 4 Wilhelm Nauhaus, *Die Burg Giebichenstein: Geschichte einer deutschen Kunstschule, 1915-1933* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1981).
- 5 Schmidt, *Manifeste*, p. 180; *Zehn Jahre Novembergruppe*, special issue of *Kunst der Zeit: Zeitschrift für Kunst und Literatur* 1-3 (1928), pp. 23-24.
- 6 Kurt Pinthus, *Menschheitsdämmerung: Symphonie jüngster Dichtung* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1920).
- 7 Friedrich Peter Drömmel, *Kieler Künstler in Aufbruch und Umbruch nach dem ersten Weltkrieg: Aspekte der Zwanziger Jahre*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Kulturamt, Kiel, in 1983; *Deutsche Expressionisten aus dem Besitz der Kunsthalle Kiel*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Kunsthalle and the Schleswig-Holsteinischer Kunstverein, Kiel, in 1977.
- 8 *Kunst an der Wupper: Dr. Richard Reiche zum Gedächtnis*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Kunst- und Museumsverein, Wuppertal, in 1966. Grateful acknowledgment is made for information received from Walter Gerber, Leverkusen, and the late Hans Schaarwächter, Cologne.
- 9 Abram Enns, *Kunst und Bürgertum: Die Kontroversen zwanziger Jahre* (Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1978); Carl Georg Heise, *Lübecker Kunstpflege 1920-1933* (Lübeck: Vorsteher-schaft des Museums für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, 1934).
- 10 Franz Klemens Gieseke, "50 Jahre 'Schanze.' Eine Chronik," in *Fünfzig Jahre Freie Künstlergemeinschaft Schanze 1919-1969*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Landesmuseum, Münster, in 1969.
- 11 Alfred Flechtheim: *Sammler, Kunsthändler, Verleger*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, in 1988, p. 15.
- 12 *Neue Darmstädter Sezession: 21. Jahresausstellung auf der Darmstädter Mathildenhöhe*, catalogue of exhibition held in Darmstadt in 1979 (includes partial reprint of the catalogue of the 1920 exhibition); Wilhelm Michel, *Darmstadts Zukunft als Kunststadt* (Darmstadt: Die Dachstube, 1919).
- 13 *Kunst in Karlsruhe, 1900-1950*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, in 1981.
- 14 Hans W. Fischer, *Hamburger Kulturbilderbogen* (Munich: Rösl, 1923); Volker Detlef Heydorn, *Maler in Hamburg 1886-1945* (Hamburg: Hans Christians, n.d.); idem, *Engagierte Kunst in Hamburg 1848-1971* (Hamburg: Berufsverband Bildender Künstler, 1972); Edith Oppens, *Der Mandrill: Hamburger Zwanziger Jahre* (Hamburg: Seehafen, n.d.); Roland Jäger and Cornelius Steckner, *Zinnober: Kunstszene Hamburg 1919-1933* (Hamburg: Szene, 1983).
- 15 The program of the group was printed in the journal *Der Freihafen: Blätter der Hamburger Kammerspiele* 1, no. 1 (1918), pp. 63-64.
- 16 *Zweeman*, no. 6 (April 1920).
- 17 Max Schulze-Sölde, *Ein Mensch dieser Zeit* (Florchheim: Urquell, 1930).
- 18 August Hoff, et al., *Karl Ernst Osthaus: Leben und Werk* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1971); Werner Berber, "Die Hagener Bohème," in *Hagener Heimatkalender 1974-1980* and *Heimatsbuch Hagen und Mark 1986*; Ulrich Linse, *Barfüßige Propheten und Erlöser der Zwanziger Jahre* (Berlin: Siedler, 1983).
- 19 Karin von Maur, *Oskar Schlemmer*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, in 1977; Tut Schlemmer, *Oskar Schlemmer: Briefe und Tagebücher* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1977); Karin von Maur, *Oskar Schlemmer* (Munich: Prestel, 1978); Arnold L. Lehman and Brenda Richardson, eds., *Oskar Schlemmer*, catalogue of exhibition held at the Museum of Art, Baltimore, in 1986; *Üecht Gruppe*, catalogue of exhibition held at Ludwig Schaller Kunsthandlung, Stuttgart, in 1920.
- 20 William Ludwig Bischoff, *Artists, Intellectuals and Revolution: Munich 1918-1919* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Dirk Halbrodt and Wolfgang Kehr, "München 1919: Bildende Kunst und Fotografie der Revolutions- und Rätezeit" (seminar report) (Munich: Akademie der Bildenden Künste, 1979); Oskar Maria Graf, *Gelächter von Ausen: Aus meinem Leben 1918-1933* (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1966); Wieland Schmied, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus in Deutschland 1918-1933* (Hanover: Fackelträger Verlag Schmidt-Küster, 1969).



Fig. 1 Johannes Molzahn, *Energie entspannt* (Energy at Rest), 1919 (Cat. 148)

A Tempest Sweeping This World: Expressionism as an International Movement

In modern art history specific stylistic trends are often given national labels: we speak of "French" Fauvism and Cubism, "Italian" Futurism, "German" Expressionism, even "Russian" Constructivism. Not until the middle of World War I can we identify an international movement in the sense that no single nation could apparently lay claim to it: Dadaism, which made its appearance in Zurich in 1916. This use of adjectives does not spring from the nature of the movements themselves; in most cases it represents a restrictive interpretation on the part of outside observers and commentators. This is all the more plausible when we bear in mind that the scope of the various designations was by no means categorically defined right from the start: it is well known, for instance, that the word *Expressionism* started its career in Germany around 1911 as a generic term that embraced a number of the avant-garde trends of the day, such as Cubism.

What happened was that the word failed to become accepted in this sense outside Germany, and instead commentators were at pains to furnish Expressionism with an array of "Nordic" antecedents. It was just this "ethnic" interpretation of Expressionism, however, that blunted the progressive spearhead of the movement as a universalist critique of modern civilization; the Da-

daists, in their meta-Expressionism, mercilessly exposed this. But the identification of Expressionism with "Gothic mysticism," or indeed with any other nationalistic element traceable to an assumed Germanic stylistic impulse, was the invention of the interpreters, not of the original Expressionist artists themselves.

It was not until decades later that a partial and often neglected aspect of Expressionism, namely abstraction, enjoyed a revival as a term transcending nationality. This was Abstract Expressionism, a phrase coined as early as 1919 by the sculptor and printmaker Oswald Herzog (Fig. 2) in the periodical *Der Sturm* (The Storm). Equally, Johannes Molzahn's "Manifest des absoluten Expressionismus" (Manifesto of Absolute Expressionism), published the same year in the same magazine, was filled – as Rose-Carol Washton Long has cogently demonstrated – with a mystical, utopian impulse that was inherently forward-looking rather than directed toward some dim Germanic past (Fig. 1).¹

The Expressionist movement in Germany embraces stylistic phenomena as disparate as the first abstract watercolors painted by Wassily Kandinsky around 1910 and the almost realist social criticism of the art of the Weimar period. One has only to think of Conrad Felix-



Fig. 2 Oswald Herzog, *Geniessen* (Enjoyment), c. 1920 (Cat. 101)



Fig. 3 Conrad Felixmüller, *Der Arbeiter Max John* (The Worker Max John), 1921 (Cat. 53)

müller (Fig. 3). This in itself shows that Expressionism was not just a national stylistic phenomenon. It was in fact a highly complex movement of cultural protest, which sought to overturn the prevailing aesthetic and social values on a universal scale. Its purely stylistic characteristics – however strong its predilection for sharp angles, distortions of form, or strong contrasts of color – remained secondary. The common features that can be identified within its enormous formal diversity are more a matter of content: specifically they spring from its critique of contemporary civilization.² It was precisely when Expressionism began to use stereotyped

formulas that its impulse began to wane, like that of a solidifying stream of lava.

This brief survey is an attempt to highlight a few of the essential universal objectives of Expressionism and thus free the movement from the narrow confines of a national style. This is the only way to justify the utopian promise inherent in Expressionism as it was reasserted in 1937, in refutation of various misinterpretations, by Ernst Bloch: "Even in its isolation the avant-garde of that period was primarily interested in Man. Man who was still wrapped in, or beginning to emerge from, his cocoon. Its concern was with the mystery of

being human. It expanded the world within Man and Man in the world far beyond the known resources of expression.... Expressionism... is not disintegration for disintegration's sake, it is a tempest sweeping this world to make room for the images of a truer world."³

The absurdity of restricting Expressionism to a national German style becomes immediately apparent when we take a closer look at the goals proclaimed by the editors of *Der Blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider). The crux of the revolutionary philosophy behind Wassily Kandinsky's and Franz Marc's synthetic approach to art was the abolition of normative concepts of style. In the typescript preface (then unpublished) intended for the first *Almanach des Blauen Reiters* (The Blue Rider Almanac) they said: "And so we call upon those artists who feel our aims stirring within themselves to join us *fraternally*. We feel justified in using this great word as our idea of necessity precludes any form of bureaucratic procedure."⁴

Tilting at ossified social structures in the name of an international vanguard of artists united in liberty, equality, and fraternity, and paying homage to the ideals of the French Revolution, this preface closes, significantly, with an avowal of internationalism: "It ought to be unnecessary to underline further the fact that in our case the principle of internationalism is the only possible one.... National identity, like personal identity, is reflected in every great work as a matter of course. In the final analysis, however, this coloring is a subsidiary factor. What we call art knows no frontiers or nations, only mankind."⁵

A direct line can be traced from this preface written for the *Almanach des Blauen Reiters* to the preface that Kandinsky wrote in 1922 for the *Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung* (First International Art Exhibition) in Dusseldorf, held in conjunction with a congress of the *Union fortschrittlicher internationaler Künstler* (Union of Progressive International Artists): "Synthesis is the watchword that brings us together – human beings of this earth. All the paths that we have hitherto trodden separately have now become *one* path.... Gone are the walls that hid our fellow wayfarers from view. All is now revealed. Trembling, everything shows its *inner face*. What was dead awakens to life... and so the Age of Spiritual Greatness has dawned."⁶

The "dawn of humanity," which became such a cliché of Expressionist lyric poetry, was first evoked in utopian terms by the painters of *Der Blaue Reiter*.

Their internationalism was not just theory. The 1912 almanac contained essays by Marc and David Burliuk on the *Wilden* ("savages" or "fauves") in Germany and Russia. (Henri Le Fauconnier was supposed to cover the French scene, but his contribution never arrived.) The internationalism of the artists was presented as the "great struggle for the new art," fought by "the unorganized against an old organized power" (Marc).⁷

In the discussions of the images in the almanac – with their wholly unprecedented "synthetic comparisons" (Felix Thürlemann)⁸ between works of art that had been created ages and continents apart but seemed spiritually united by the principle of "inner necessity" – every traditional concept of style was blown apart, just as Kandinsky had announced: "We shall put an Egyptian next to a Little Toe [*ein kleiner Zeh*, a reference to some drawings done by the children of the Munich architect August Zeh], a Chinese work of art next to Rousseau, an example of folk art next to Picasso, and so on and so on."⁹

Not long after Alois Riegl had called the traditional notion of style in art into question by introducing his concept of the artistic "will," "impulse," or "intention" (*Kunstwollen*), here was a universal *Musée Imaginaire* that arranged its exhibits according to purely artistic criteria. Thürlemann's analysis was valid when he said: "This egalitarian dialogue between all the pictorial creations of all levels and areas of culture, as created for the very first time in highly concentrated form in the ideal setting of the *Blaue Reiter* almanac marked the end of clearly defined styles in Europe."¹⁰

Without some understanding of this universalist substratum of Expressionist art it is impossible to understand the concrete political role that the movement



Fig. 4 Käthe Kollwitz, *Nie wieder Krieg* (War Nevermore), 1924 (Cat. 127)

assumed during World War I. Expressionism became the one and only antiwar movement in the world of the arts; and this was so on an international plane, insofar as such a thing existed in a period of disrupted communications, censorship, and risk of prosecution (Fig. 4). The second phase of Expressionism shifted the utopian artistic goals, as defined by *Der Blaue Reiter* and others, to the social level: an inherently impossible endeavor that was one of the major factors leading to the demise of Expressionism.

A detailed account of this complex antiwar movement in the arts has still to be written.¹¹ It manifested itself most clearly in those pacifist circles whose members were able to get away to Switzerland: Hans Arp, Hugo Ball, Leonhard Frank, Ferdinand Hardekopf, Richard Hülsenbeck, Ludwig Rubiner, and René Schickele, among others. The circle that surrounded Carl and Thea Sternheim in Brussels also played an important part. In Germany itself this opposition could only make its views known in as concealed a manner as possible; only a few artistic and literary periodicals, such as *Die Aktion* (Action) and *Neue Jugend* (New Youth), were available as outlets for their artfully coded pronouncements.

In 1916, with the forming of the *Spartakus-Gruppe* (Spartacus Group), which under the name of *Gruppe Internationale* (International Group) had called for illegal antiwar demonstrations on May 1 of that year, the artistic antiwar movement acquired a political wing. It was only after the collapse of the kaiser's regime and the proclamation of the republic in 1918 that the second, or "late," phase of Expressionism got fully into its stride.¹² This was the phase whose historical background had been described by Hermann Bahr in his book *Der Expressionismus* (Expressionism): "Never has an age been shaken by such horror, such mortal fear.... The whole age becomes one single scream of anguish. Art joins in,

screaming into the murky darkness, screaming for help, screaming for the Spirit. This is Expressionism."¹³

The slogans of this opposition movement, this "internationalist campaign within the war," which René Schickele was to define in retrospect in 1920 as "Expressionism's last and finest act," were "pacifism, the solidarity of all peoples, avowal of a humanely ordered world, the fight against the Beast in every situation of life."¹⁴ Expressionist art saw itself as the motivating power in the realization of such objectives, in direct consequence of the utopian idea that lay at its root. With the values of materialism totally discredited by the mass slaughter of the war, it seemed both possible and vitally necessary to usher in an epoch of true spirituality nurtured by the experience of suffering.

An outstanding example of the way in which this experience affected the younger Expressionist artists can be found in the sculptures of Wilhelm Lehmbruck. Joseph Beuys in his last speech, *Dank an Wilhelm Lehmbruck* (A Message of Thanks to Wilhelm Lehmbruck), on the occasion of the presentation of the Lehmbruck Prize in Duisburg, 1986, spoke of the intensified spiritual awareness that was a consequence of Lehmbruck's basic pacifism:

When I came to think of a kind of formal creation in sculpture that would deal not only with physical but also with psychic material, I was irresistibly driven to take up the idea of social sculpture. I consider this to be a message from Wilhelm Lehmbruck; for one day I found in a dusty bookcase Rudolf Steiner's often-suppressed appeal of 1919 to the German people and all civilized nations. In it he set out to rebuild the social organism on a completely new foundation. After the experiences of the war, in which Lehmbruck had suffered so grievously, one man stood up and saw that the reasons for the war lay in the impotence of the spiritual element.¹⁵

When Lehmbruck moved to Zurich in 1916, he was finally able to escape from the threat of conscription into the war that he so passionately but ineffectually



Fig. 5 Wilhelm Lehmbruck, *Der Gestürzte* (The Fallen Man), c. 1915-16, bronze 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 94 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 32 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (78 x 239 x 83 cm), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

rejected. In 1915-16 he had created his first great expressive symbol of the age in the large *Der Gestürzte* (The Fallen Man; Fig. 5) in Zurich he followed this with the *Trauernde* (Mourner). The slender, elongated *Emporsteigender Jüngling* (Ascending Youth, 1913) had been the epitome of early Expressionist sculpture, full of the emotional rhetoric of spiritual uplift, whereas *Der Gestürzte* is a compressed embodiment of suffering. This naked figure seems to have been hurled down onto the earth with tremendous force; he strains to rise in a bridgelike curve, like an animal arching its back. That in itself makes him into a universal symbol. The work heralds late Expressionism, not only in its generalized nature, its "reduction to a type," but in the spiritual quality, expressed through and yet transcending the physical, which Beuys described in his address. It was no coincidence, therefore, that Lehmbruck came to associate with the pacifist circles in Zurich that were led by Frank, Rubiner, and Fritz von Unruh. As Dietrich Schubert puts it: "In Lehmbruck's symbolic figures we have concrete expressions of the international antiwar movement of the war years."¹⁶

The circle of pacifist intellectuals, writers, and artists in Zurich did not rest content with the creation of symbolic embodiments of the spirit. Expressionism in Zurich performed a sort of mental somersault into the meta-rationality of Dadaism. Here, at last, the bourgeois system of values that the war had unmasked as inhuman was shaken to its foundations. The demolition of forms and values to the point of unrecognizability of language, image, and gesture was a fundamental characteristic of Expressionism; and it was Dada that carried it to its most radical conclusion.

The links with specific Expressionist principles are unmistakable. Ball's "phonetic poems," for instance, in which he anarchistically wrecks language, are directly analogous to Kandinsky's abstractions. Ball was actually giving lectures on Kandinsky in Zurich; and he, Tristan Tzara, and Arp – whose own work expresses this conviction most clearly – were convinced that abstract painting was the only truly international modern painting.¹⁷ Direct connections with Expressionist art are additionally documented by the Sturm exhibitions that were held at the Galerie Dada in Zurich in 1917.

Dadaism radicalized Expressionism and at the same time superseded it; it was in Dadaism that Expressionism at last became truly international. Ball concluded his introduction to the pamphlet *Cabaret Voltaire*, of 1916, with the statement that all Dadaist activities were intended "to draw attention, transcending both the war and the fatherlands, to the few independent souls who live for other ideals. The next objective of the artists assembled here is the creation of [switching to French:] an international review. The review will be published in Zurich and will bear the name 'DADA.' ('Dada') Dada Dada Dada Dada."¹⁸

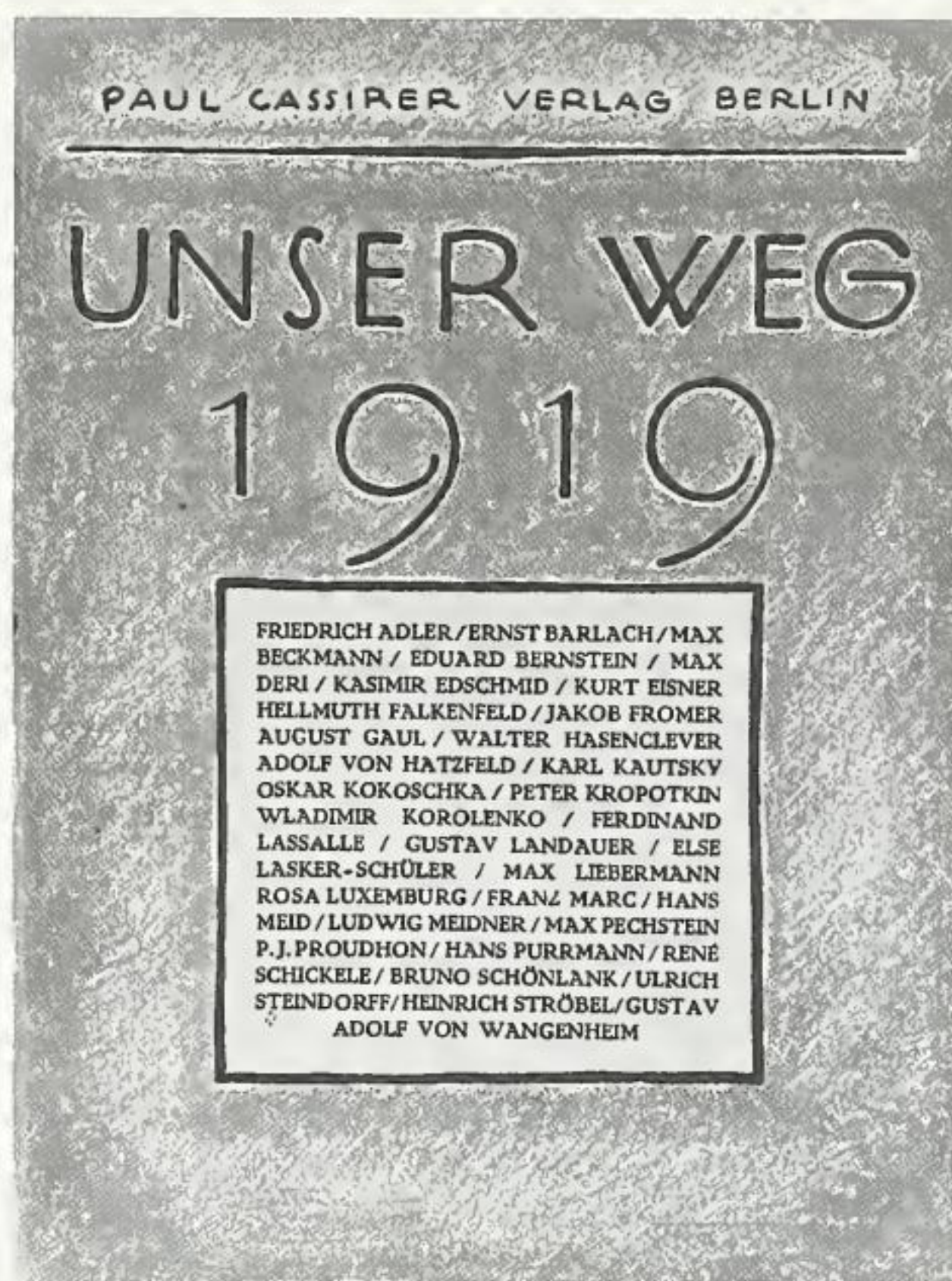


Fig. 6 *Unser Weg 1919* (Our Way 1919)

The call for international solidarity on the part of the "new human being" remained absolutely fundamental to Expressionism, all the more so during the upheavals that began in November 1918. It is characteristic, for instance, that in the anthology *Unser Weg 1919* (Our Way 1919; Fig. 6), published by the Paul Cassirer Verlag in Berlin, contributions from artists appeared alongside an essay by the socialist theoretician Eduard Bernstein, *Die Weiterbildung des Völkerrechts* (The Future Development of International Law).¹⁹ The message was that war must become impossible and international law must become "supranational" law. In January 1919 the Dresden periodical *Menschen* (Mankind), in which Felixmüller and Walter Rheiner were actively involved, proclaimed an "antinational socialism, which is unconditionally and radically demanded."²⁰ In the very same issue, however, the murders of Rosa Luxemburg (Fig. 7) and Karl Liebknecht (Fig. 8) were already casting a shadow of disillusionment: "The Beast triumphs over the spirit of socialism."

A particularly impassioned Expressionist call to international action appeared in the Dresden review *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* (New Journal for Art and Poetry) in March 1919, signed by Herbert Kühn:

We do not have socialism yet. We still face the common enemy, capital. But the time will come when the Spirit will go forward



Fig. 7 Anton Räderscheidt, *Rosa Luxemburg* from the portfolio *Lebendige* (The Living), 1919 (Cat. 167)

(the Spirit cannot be conquered with bayonets), the time will come when the last bulwarks will fall, the time will come when, loud and clear, the clarion cry will reach every heart: *Humanity!* We salute you, French brothers, comrades, allies – you, Barbusse, and you, Romain Rolland, you, J.-P. Jouve and André Gide, Henri Guilbeaux and Martinet, Duchamp, and all the others. We salute you, Italians, Czechs, Poles, Russians, Finns, Englishmen, and you Indians. Artists are ahead of their time; they prepare the ground, they plow the hearts, they sow the seed. You are all working toward the same goal; what unites us is *one* Spirit, and one stream passes through us all – a stream that will encompass the whole world and transform it in all its fastnesses; a stream that aspires to the stars. We want a new world. A better world. We want *Man!*²¹

One may well ask how many of these high-flown Expressionist rallying cries actually led to concrete international collaboration among artists in the period after World War I. The Nazis' virulent propaganda against "international cultural bolshevism" in itself documents the survival of the internationalist impulse until 1933; and the successive stages in its development can be traced through the 1920s.

In 1919 the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' Council for Art) in Berlin issued a call "To All Artists in All Lands!" which contains the summons: "We must all come together ... from every country to an international congress."²² Such a congress (that of the *Union*



Fig. 8 Franz Seiwert, *Karl Liebknecht* from the portfolio *Lebendige* (The Living), 1919 (Cat. 185)

fortschrittlicher internationaler Künstler) took place at the end of May 1922 in Dusseldorf, organized by the Expressionist group *Das Junge Rheinland* (The Young Rhineland). It was promptly riven by splinter groups, all of which were, however, international in themselves.²³ In Weimar from 1919, and even more in Dessau from 1925, the Bauhaus exerted an influence that transcended national boundaries. Finally the *Europa-Almanach* (European Almanac), edited by Carl Einstein and Paul Westheim, and published in Potsdam in 1925 by Kiepenheuer, was a true anthology of the international avant-garde; it ranks to this day as perhaps one of the most genuine of all manifestations of international artistic cooperation. Here, however, the unifying factor was no longer a political persuasion but the deliberately nonideological slogan "The Europe Funfair" promulgated in the foreword: "Roll up! Ballyhoo the Europe Funfair! Design the Ethereal Swings! Paint the Carousels! Hit the Bull's-eye! 'Dice-ign' What You Need! Simultaneity! Simultaneity!"²⁴

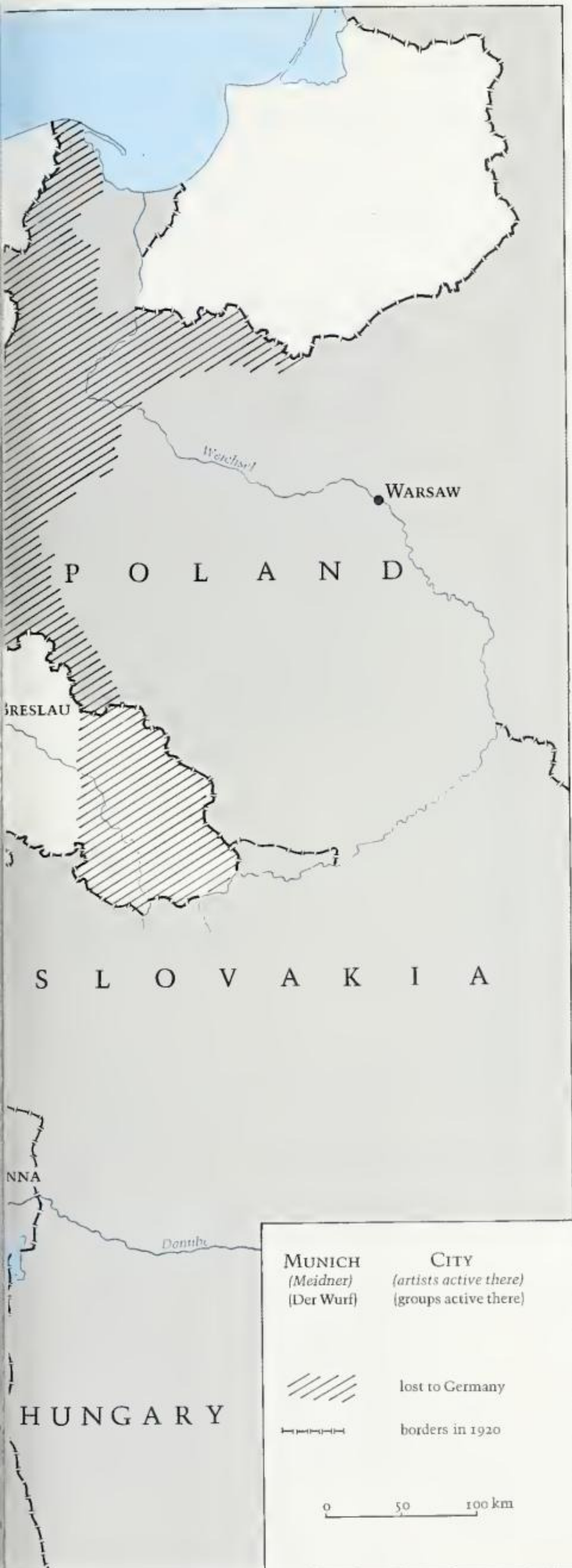
Once the history of the avant-garde within Modernism is perceived in this way as a simultaneous process, Expressionism loses its national prefix. To label Expressionism "German" is misleading. It was through Expressionism that German art gained access to the international avant-garde.

Notes

- 1 Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Expressionism, Abstraction, and the Search for Utopia in Germany," in exhibition catalogue *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1986).
- 2 See my elaboration of this topic in Stephan von Wiese, *Graphik des Expressionismus* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1976).
- 3 Ernst Bloch, "Der Expressionismus," *Die neue Weltbühne*, no. 45 (October 14, 1937); quoted from Ernst Bloch, *Vom Hasard zur Katastrophe: Politische Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1934-1939* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972), p. 277.
- 4 Quoted from Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds., *Der Blaue Reiter*, new documentary edition by Klaus Lankheit, 6th ed. (Munich: Piper, 1987), p. 316.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 317.
- 6 Republished in Ulrich Krempel, ed., *Am Anfang: Das Junge Rheinland. Zur Kunst und Zeitgeschichte einer Region 1918-1945* (Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1985), p. 51.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 8 Felix Thürlemann, "'Famose Gegenklänge': Der Diskurs der Abbildungen im Almanach 'Der Blaue Reiter,'" in exhibition catalogue *Der Blaue Reiter* (Kunstmuseum, Bern, 1987-88), p. 214.
- 9 Kandinsky and Marc, eds., *Der Blaue Reiter*, p. 259.
- 10 Thürlemann, "Famose Gegenklänge," p. 221.
- 11 See Eva Kolinsky, *Engagierter Expressionismus: Politik und Literatur zwischen Weltkrieg und Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1970). On this topic see also Michael Hamburger, *Die Dialektik der modernen Lyrik* (Munich: List, 1972), p. 199ff.
- 12 See Paul Raabe, exhibition catalogue *Der späte Expressionismus 1918-1922* (Kleine Galerie, Biberach an der Riss, 1966), p. 5: "Late Expressionism: this is the last phase of the new tendency in literature that began in 1910 and led in the war to the pacifist 'O Man!' movement." See also the section on German woodcuts after Expressionism in Gunther Thiem, *Der deutsche Holzschnitt im 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1984), p. 8ff.
- 13 Hermann Bahr, *Der Expressionismus* (Munich: Delphin, 1916), p. 123.
- 14 René Schickele, "Wie verhält es sich mit dem Expressionismus?" *Die weißen Blätter* 7, no. 8 (August 1920), pp. 337-40; quoted from Paul Raabe, ed., *Expressionismus: Der Kampf um eine literarische Bewegung* (Munich: dtv, 1965), p. 179.
- 15 First published in *Die Tageszeitung* (Berlin), January 27, 1986.
- 16 Dietrich Schubert, *Die Kunst Lehmbrucks* (Worms: Werner'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981), p. 260.
- 17 See William S. Rubin, *Dada* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1968), p. 88.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 19 *Unser Weg 1919* (Berlin, December 1918), p. 10ff.
- 20 Fritz Löffler, Emilio Bertoni, and Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, exhibition catalogue *Dresdner Sezession 1919-1925* (Galleria del Levante, Milan and Munich, 1977).
- 21 Herbert Kühn, "Expressionismus und Sozialismus," 1919/20: *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* (Dresden) 2 (May 1919), p. 28ff.
- 22 "An alle Künstler aller Länder," *de stijl* 2, no. 9 (July 1919), pp. 104-5.
- 23 Stephan von Wiese, "Ein Meilenstein auf dem Weg in den Internationalismus," in Krempel, ed., *Am Anfang*, p. 50ff.
- 24 Carl Einstein and Paul Westheim, eds., *Europa-Almanach* (Potsdam, 1925), p. 6 ("Jahrmarkt Europa," signed: "Ks").



Expressionist Germany 1920



Publications:

BERLIN:	<i>Der Anbruch</i> <i>Die Aktion</i> <i>Der Sturm</i> <i>Das Kunstblatt</i> <i>Das Junge Deutschland</i> <i>Das Neue Pathos</i> <i>Neue Jugend</i>
DARMSTADT:	<i>Die Dachstube</i> <i>Das Tribunal</i>
DRESDEN:	<i>Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung</i> <i>Menschen</i>
DUSSELDORF:	<i>Der Querschnitt</i> <i>Das Kunstfenster</i> <i>Das Junge Rheinland</i> <i>Das Ey</i> <i>Buch des Aktivistenbundes</i>
HAMBURG:	<i>Kräfte</i> <i>Die Rote Erde</i> <i>Kündigung</i>
HANOVER:	<i>Das hohe Ufer</i> <i>Der Zweemann</i>
KIEL:	<i>Die Schöne Rarität</i> <i>Der Schwarze Turm</i>
MAGDEBURG:	<i>Die Kugel</i>
MUNICH:	<i>Der Weg</i> <i>Die Sichel</i>

Artists' Biographies

Exhibitions listed under the heading "Group Exhibitions" refer to those exhibitions held by or featuring the artists' groups discussed elsewhere in this catalogue (e. g. Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Novembergruppe, etc.).



Peter Abelen

Born 1884 Cologne
Died 1962 Cologne

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dusseldorf
Akademie, Munich

AFFILIATION

Die Progressiven, Cologne



Karl Albiker

Born 1878 Uhlingen
Died 1961 Ettlingen

EDUCATION

Akademie, Karlsruhe, 1898-99
Académie Julian, Paris, 1899-1900
Ecole Rodin, Paris, 1900

AFFILIATION

Neue Münchner Sezession, Munich

GROUP EXHIBITION

Neue Münchner Sezession, 1914

REFERENCE

Albiker, Karl, *Karl Albiker: Werkbuch*,
ed. City of Ettlingen (Karlsruhe:
C. F. Müller, 1978).



Max Beckmann

Born 1884 Leipzig
Died 1950 New York City

EDUCATION

Akademie, Weimar, 1900-1903

AFFILIATIONS

Berliner Sezession, Berlin
Neue Sezession, Berlin
Darmstädter Sezession, Darmstadt

REFERENCES

Göpel, Erhard, and Barbara Göpel, *Max Beckmann: Katalog der Gemälde*,
2 vols. (Berne: Kornfeld, 1976).

St. Louis Art Museum, *Max Beckmann Retrospective*, eds. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann and Judith C. Weiss (Munich: Prestel, 1984).



Rudolf Belling

Born 1886 Berlin
Died 1972 Kraling

EDUCATION

Akademie, Berlin, 1911-22

AFFILIATIONS

Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-26, 1929, 1931

REFERENCE

Nerdinger, Winfried, *Rudolf Belling und die Kunstströmungen in Berlin 1918-23*
(Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, c. 1981).

Rüdiger Berlit

Born 1883 Leipzig
Died 1939 Leipzig

EDUCATION

Akademie für Graphische Künste und
Buchgewerbe, Leipzig
Akademie, Munich, 1909



GROUP EXHIBITION

Verein für Leipziger Jahres-Ausstellungen (LJA), Leipzig



Bruno Beye

Born 1895 Magdeburg
Died 1976 Magdeburg

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Magdeburg, 1911-14

AFFILIATION

Vereinigung für Neue Kunst und Literatur, Magdeburg

Albert Birkle

Born 1900 Berlin
Died 1986 Ostermünchen

EDUCATION

Akademie, Berlin, 1918-26
Master pupil of Arthur Kampf, Berlin, 1921-25



AFFILIATION

Berliner Sezession, Berlin

REFERENCE

Kulturamt der Stadt Salzburg and Museum Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg, *Albert Birkle: Ölmalerie und Pastell* (1980).



Peter August Böckstiegel

Born 1889 Arrode
Died 1951 Arrode

EDUCATION

Fachschule für Maler, Bielefeld, 1903-7
Kunstgewerbeschule, Bielefeld, 1907-13
Akademie, Dresden, 1913-15

AFFILIATIONS

Gruppe 1917, Dresden
Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden

REFERENCES

Koenig, Wieland, *Peter August Böckstiegel* (Karlsruhe: Müller, 1978).

Forthcoming:

P. A. Böckstiegel: A Centenary Retrospective (Munster: 1989-90).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, pp. 65-66



Lorenz Bösken

Born 1891 Geldern
Died 1967 Dusseldorf

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Krefeld
Akademie, Dusseldorf

AFFILIATION

Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf

REFERENCE

Stadtmuseum, Dusseldorf, *Lorenz Bösken* (1981).



Max Burchartz

Born 1887 Elberfeld
Died 1961 Essen

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dusseldorf, 1906-8

AFFILIATION

Hannoversche Sezession, Hanover
Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf
De Stijl, Weimar

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919, 1923

Otto Dix

Born 1891 Untermhaus
Died 1969 Hemmenhofen

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1909-14
Akademie, Dresden, 1919-22
Akademie, Dusseldorf, 1922-25



AFFILIATIONS

Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden
Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf
Aktivistenbund 1919, Dusseldorf
Rote Gruppe, Berlin
Rheingruppe, Dusseldorf

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Gruppe 1919, 1920-21, 1929, 1931
Novembergruppe, 1920-21, 1929, 1931

REFERENCES

Löffler, Fritz, *Otto Dix: Leben und Werk*, 4th ed. (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1977).
Museum Villa Stuck, Munich, *Otto Dix: 1891-1969* (Munich: Hans Goltz, 1985).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, pp. 67-71.



Friedrich Peter Drömmmer

Born 1889 Kiel
Died 1968 Gräfelfing

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Kiel, 1909-12
Hochschule für bildende Kunst, Weimar, 1912-13
Preussische Kunstakademie, Kassel, 1913-14

AFFILIATION

Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Kiel

REFERENCE

Brunswiker Pavillon, Kiel, *F. P. Drömmmer: Kieler Maler der 20er Jahre* (1980).



Max Dungert

Born 1896 Magdeburg
Died 1945 Berlin

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Magdeburg, 1910-18
Akademie, Berlin, 1919-20

AFFILIATIONS

Novembergruppe, Berlin
Vereinigung für Neue Kunst und Literatur, Magdeburg

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-31, except 1921



Heinrich Ehmsen

Born 1886 Kiel
Died 1964 Berlin (East)

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dusseldorf, 1906-9
Académie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1909-10

AFFILIATION

Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1928-31

REFERENCES

Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Dresden, *Heinrich Ehmsen* (1977).
Krull, Edith, *Heinrich Ehmsen* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1958).

Max Ernst

Born 1891 Brühl
Died 1976 Paris

EDUCATION

University of Bonn, 1908 or 1909

AFFILIATIONS

Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf, 1918
Founder of Cologne Dada Movement, 1919



GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Der Sturm, Berlin, 1916
Das Junge Rheinland, 1918 (?)

REFERENCES

Russell, John, *Max Ernst: Life and Work* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967).
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, *Max Ernst: A Retrospective*, ed. Diane Waldman (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1975).
Spies, Werner, *Max Ernst: Œuvre-Katalog*, 3 vols. (Houston: Menil Foundation, 1975).

Rudi Feld

(dates and career information unknown)



Conrad Felixmüller

Born 1897 Dresden
Died 1977 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1911
Akademie, Dresden, 1912-15

AFFILIATIONS

Gruppe 1917, Dresden
Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITION

Novembergruppe, 1929

REFERENCES

Gleisberg, Dieter, *Conrad Felixmüller: Leben und Werk* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1982).
Archiv für Bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, *Conrad Felixmüller: Werke und Dokumente* (1981).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, pp. 60-63.



Hermann Finsterlin

Born 1887 Berchtesgaden
Died 1973 Stuttgart

EDUCATION

Akademie, Munich, 1917-18

AFFILIATION

Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Unbekannte Architekten, Berlin, 1919
Neues Bauen, in the Kunsthaus Twardy, Berlin, 1920

REFERENCES

Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld, *Hermann Finsterlin: Ideenarchitektur 1918-24. Entwürfe für eine bewohnbare Welt* (1976).
Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, *Hermann Finsterlin: Eine Annäherung*, ed. Reinhard Döhl (1988).



Otto Freundlich

Born 1878 Stolp, Pomerania
Died 1943 Maidanek, Poland

EDUCATION

Studied art history in Berlin and Munich, 1903-4
Mal- und Modellierschule, Berlin, 1907-8
Studied with Lothar von Kunowski and Lovis Corinth, Berlin, 1907-8

AFFILIATION

Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Neue Sezession, Berlin, 1910-13
Novembergruppe, 1919-21, 1931

REFERENCES

Aust, Günter, *Otto Freundlich* (Cologne: M. Du Mont Schauberg, 1960).
Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, *Otto Freundlich (1878-1943): Monographie mit Dokumentation und Werkverzeichnis* (Cologne: Rheinland, 1978).



Heinz Fuchs

Born 1886 Berlin
Died 1961 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Akademie, Berlin
Kunstschule, Weimar

AFFILIATION

Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-1926, 1931

Paul Fuhrmann

Born 1893 Berlin
Died 1952 Berlin (East)

EDUCATION

Unterrichtsanstalt des Kunstgewerbe-
museums, Berlin, 1912-15

AFFILIATIONS

Internationale Vereinigung der Expres-
sionisten, Kubisten, Futuristen und
Konstruktivisten, Berlin (later called
Die Abstrakten)
Die Zeitgemässen, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Die Abstrakten, 1926-31

REFERENCE

Galerie am Sachsenplatz, Leipzig, *Paul
Fuhrmann* (1976).

Herbert Garbe

Born 1888 Berlin
Died 1945 as prisoner of war in France

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Munich
Akademie, Berlin

AFFILIATIONS

Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-21, 1929

REFERENCES

Barron, Stephanie, ed., *German Expres-
sionist Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Los
Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983),
pp. 86-87.
Galerie Curt Buchholz, Berlin, *Herbert
Garbe/Karl Rossing* (1938).

Otto Gleichmann

Born 1887 Mainz
Died 1963 Hanover



EDUCATION

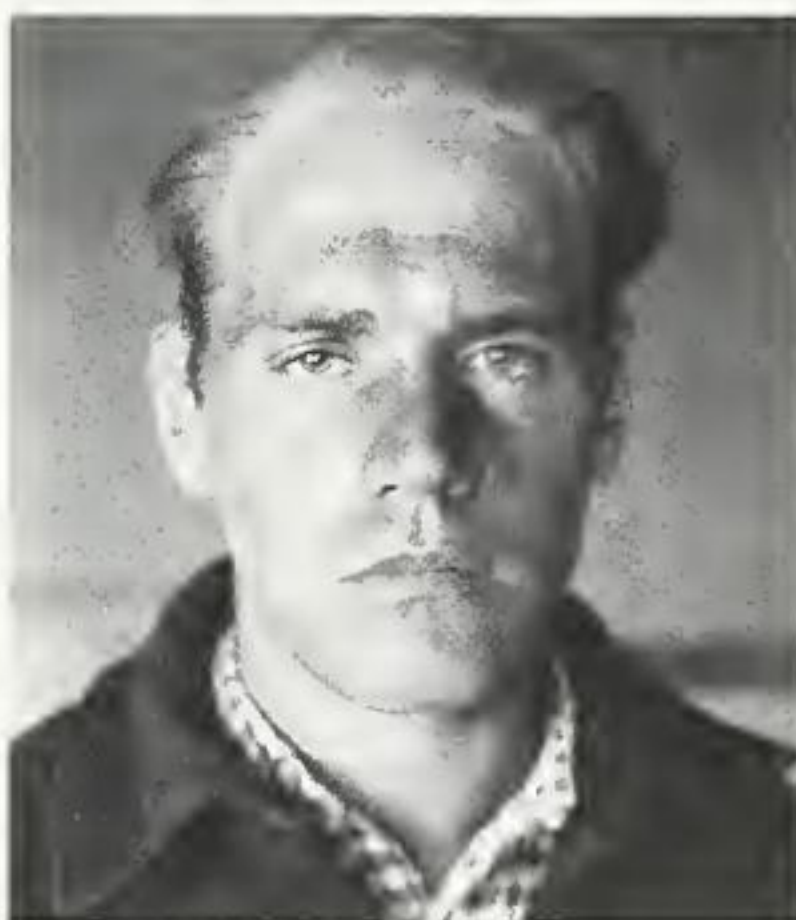
Akademie, Dusseldorf
Kunstakademie, Wroclaw
Akademie, Weimar

AFFILIATION

Hannoversche Sezession, Hanover

REFERENCE

Sprenkel Museum, Hanover, *Otto Gleich-
mann 1887-1963: Zum 100. Geburtstag*
(1987).



Friedrich Karl Gotsch

Born 1900 Pries
Died 1984 Schleswig

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden, 1920-23

REFERENCE

Städtische Galerie, Albstadt, *Friedrich
Karl Gotsch: 1900-1984* (1985).

Walter Gramatté

Born 1897 Berlin
Died 1929 Hamburg



EDUCATION

Königliche Kunstschule, Berlin

REFERENCE

The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa,
Walter Gramatté: 1897-1929 (1966).



Otto Griebel

Born 1895 Meerane
Died 1972 Dresden

EDUCATION

Königliche Zeichenschule, Dresden,
1909-11
Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1911-15
Akademie, Dresden, 1919-22

AFFILIATIONS

Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden
Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf
Novembergruppe, Berlin
Rote Gruppe, Berlin
Assoziation Revolutionärer Bildender
Künstler Deutschlands (ASSO), Dresden
chapter

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1924, 1929

REFERENCES

Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig,
*Otto Griebel: Malerei, Zeichnung und
Graphik* (1972).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue,
pp. 71-72.



George Grosz
(born Georg Ehrenfried Gross)

Born 1893 Berlin
Died 1959 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden, 1909-11
Kunstgewerbeschule, Berlin, 1912-13
Académie Colarossi, Paris, 1913

AFFILIATIONS

Berlin Dada
Novembergruppe, Berlin (membership
uncertain)
Rote Gruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1929
Assoziation Revolutionärer Bildender
Künstler Deutschlands (ASSO), Dresden
chapter

REFERENCES

Kunstverein, Hamburg, *George Grosz:
Seine Kunst und seine Zeit* (1975).
Lewis, Beth Irwin, *George Grosz: Art and
Politics in the Weimar Republic*
(Madison, Milwaukee, and London:
University of Wisconsin Press, 1971).

Adolf de Haer

Born 1892 Dusseldorf
Died 1944 Osnabrück



EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dusseldorf, 1912-14
Private student of Adolf Hölzel, Stuttgart,
1917

AFFILIATIONS

Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf
Aktivistenbund 1919, Dusseldorf

GROUP EXHIBITION

Exhibition at Neue Kunst Frau Ey,
1920-21

REFERENCE

Galerie Remmert & Barth, Dusseldorf,
Adolf de Haer: Frühe Werke 1913-1935
(1985).



Josef Hegenbarth

Born 1884 Böhmisches-Kamnitz
Died 1962 Dresden

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden, 1908-15

AFFILIATION

Deutsche Künstlervereinigung, Dresden

REFERENCES

Grohmann, Will, *Josef Hegenbarth: Kunst
der Gegenwart*, ed. Adolf Behne
(Potsdam, 1948).
Reichelt, J., *Josef Hegenbarth. Charakter-
bilder der neuen Kunst*, 5 (Essen, 1925).



Katharina Heise

(pseudonym: Karl Luis Heinrich-Salze)

Born 1891 Gross. Salze (today called
Schönebeck-Salzelmen)
Died 1964 Halle

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Magdeburg

AFFILIATION

Berliner Bildhauer, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITION

Novembergruppe, Berlin, 1921

REFERENCE

Galerie erph., Erfurt, *Katharina Heise*
(1985).

Hans Siebert von Heister

Born 1888 Dusseldorf
Died 1967 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Studied under Lovis Corinth and Konrad
von Kardorff, Berlin, 1911-14

AFFILIATIONS

Novembergruppe, Berlin
Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-27, 1929



REFERENCE

Galerie Michael Pabst, Munich, *Hans Siebert von Heister* (1985).

Paul Rudolph Henning

Born 1886 Berlin
Died 1986 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeakademie, Dresden
(architectural studies), 1905

AFFILIATIONS

Artistes Radicaux, Zurich
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin

REFERENCE

Barron, Stephanie, ed., *German Expressionist Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983), pp. 98-99.

Oswald Herzog

Born 1881 Haynau
Date and place of death unknown

EDUCATION

Kunstschule, Berlin
Kunstgewerbeschule, Berlin

AFFILIATIONS

Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-31

REFERENCES

Barron, Stephanie, ed., *German Expressionist Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983), pp. 100-1.



Kuhn, Alfred, "Die Absolute Plastik Oswald Herzogs," *Der Cicerone* 13, no. 8 (April 1921), pp. 245-52.



Angelika Hoerle

Born 1899
Died 1923



Eugen Hoffmann

Born 1892 Dresden
Died 1955 Dresden

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden

AFFILIATIONS

Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919,
Dresden
Assoziation Revolutionärer Bildender
Künstler Deutschlands (ASSO), Dresden
chapter
Rote Gruppe, Berlin

REFERENCES

Galerie del Levante, Munich, *Dresdner Sezession* (1977).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue,
pp. 73-74.



Richard Horn

Born 1898 Berlin
Lives in Halle

EDUCATION

Handwerkerschule, Halle, 1915-16

AFFILIATIONS

Hallische Künstlergruppe, Halle
Reichsverband Bildender Künstler, Halle

GROUP EXHIBITION

Hallische Kunstausstellung, 1919

REFERENCE

Schulze, Ingrid, "Zum 85. Geburtstag des halleschen Künstlers Richard Horn," *Galeriespiegel: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle* (January 1983).

Walter Jacob

Born 1893 Altenburg
Died 1964 Hindelang

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden

AFFILIATION

Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden



REFERENCES

Galerie del Levante, Munich, *Dresdner Sezession* (1977).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, p. 72.



Willy Jaeckel

Born 1888 Breslau
Died 1944 Berlin

EDUCATION

Akademie, Wroclaw, 1906-8
Akademie, Dresden, 1908-9

REFERENCE

Cohn-Wiener, Ernst, *Willy Jaeckel* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1920).

Walter Kampmann

Born 1887 Elberfeld
Died 1945 Berlin

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Elberfeld



AFFILIATIONS

Novembergruppe, Berlin
Selektion, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1921-32



Edmund Kesting

Born 1892 Dresden
Died 1970 Birkenwerder

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden, 1911-16, 1918-22

REFERENCE

Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Karl-Marx-Stadt, *Edmund Kesting* (1962).

Cesar Klein

Born 1876 Hamburg
Died 1954 Pansdorf

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Hamburg
Akademie, Dusseldorf
Unterrichtsanstalt des Kunstgewerbemuseums, Berlin



AFFILIATIONS

Neue Sezession, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-22, 1924,
1926-27, 1929, 1931

REFERENCE

Pfefferkorn, Rudolf, C. Klein: *Œuvre-katalog* (Berlin, 1975).



Käthe Kollwitz

Born 1867 Königsberg
Died 1945 Moritzburg

EDUCATION

Malerinnenschule Stauffer-Bern, Berlin,
1885-86
Künstlerinnenschule Herterich, Munich,
1888-89
Académie Julian, Paris, 1904

REFERENCES

- Klipstein, August, *Käthe Kollwitz: Verzeichnis des graphischen Werkes* (Bern: Klipstein & Co., 1955).
- Kollwitz, Käthe, *Ich sah die Welt mit liebevollen Blicken: Ein Leben in Selbstzeugnissen* herausgegeben von Hans Kollwitz (Hanover: Fackelträger-Verlag Schmidt-Kuster, 1968).
- Nagel, Otto, *Käthe Kollwitz*, trans. Stella Humphries (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971).



Bernhard Kretzschmar

Born 1889 Döbeln
Died 1972 Dresden

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1909-11
Akademie, Dresden, 1911-12, 1913-17

AFFILIATIONS

Dresdner Künstlervereinigung, Dresden
Aktion, Dresden
Neue Dresdner Sezession, Dresden

REFERENCES

Löffler, Fritz, *Bernhard Kretzschmar* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1985).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, pp. 75-76.

Will Küpper

Born 1893 Bruhl
Died 1972 Dusseldorf

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Cologne, 1907-13
Akademie, Dusseldorf, 1919, 1922-26
Akademie, Munich, 1920-21

AFFILIATIONS

Rheinische Sezession, Dusseldorf
Rheingruppe, Dusseldorf



REFERENCE

Griebitzsch, Herbert, Erich Heck, and Paul Loskill, *Will Küpper* (Bruhl: Käthe Küpper, 1978).



Otto Lange

Born 1879 Dresden
Died 1944 Dresden

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden
Akademie, Dresden

AFFILIATIONS

Gruppe 1917, Dresden
Novembergruppe, Berlin
Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1920, 1924, 1927-28
Gruppe 1919, 1919-22, 1925

REFERENCES

Städtische Galerie, Albstadt, *Otto Lange 1879-1944* (1983).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, pp. 64-65.



Werner Lange

Born 1888
Died 1955 Kiel

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Kiel, 1907-9
Landeskunstschule, Hamburg, 1909-12

AFFILIATION

Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Kiel

REFERENCE

Kieler Stadt- und Schiffahrtsmuseum, Kiel, *Der Kieler Maler W. Lange* (1978).



Carl Lohse

Born 1895 Hamburg
Died 1965 Bischofswerda

EDUCATION

Malschule Siebelist, Hamburg, 1910-12
Akademie, Weimar, 1912-13

REFERENCE

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden,
Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Dresden,
Carl Lohse (n. d.).



Ludwig Meidner

Born 1884 Bernstadt
Died 1966 Darmstadt

EDUCATION

Kunstschule, Wroclaw, 1903-5
Académie Julian, Paris, 1906-7

AFFILIATIONS

Die Pathetiker, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin
Darmstädter Sezession, Darmstadt

GROUP EXHIBITION

Novembergruppe, 1919

REFERENCE

Grochowiak, Thomas, *Ludwig Meidner*
(Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1966).

Moriz Melzer

Born 1877 Abendorf, Bohemia
Died 1966 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Kunstschule, Weimar
Schule für freie und angewandte Kunst,
Berlin

AFFILIATIONS

Berliner Sezession, Berlin
Neue Sezession, Berlin



Berliner Freie Sezession, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919, 1922, 1926-27,
1929, 1931

REFERENCE

Berlin Museum, Berlin, *Stadtbilder: Berlin
in der Malerei vom 17. Jahrhundert bis
zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Willmuth
Arenhövel and Nicolaische Verlags-
buchhandlung Beuermann, 1987).



Constantin von Mitschke-Collande

Born 1884 Collande
Died 1956 Nuremberg

EDUCATION

Technische Hochschule, Munich, 1905-7
(architectural studies)
Akademie, Dresden, 1907-10, 1912-13
Studied with Fernand Léger and Maurice
Denis, Paris

AFFILIATIONS

Gruppe 1917, Dresden
Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden

REFERENCES

Galerie del Levante, Munich, *Dresdner
Sezession* (1977).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue,
pp. 63-64.



Otto Möller

Born 1883 Schmiedefeld
Died 1964 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Kunstschule, Berlin, 1904-7
Studied under Lovis Corinth, Berlin,
1907-8

AFFILIATION

Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Berliner Sezession, Berlin
Novembergruppe, 1919-23, 1926-29, 1931

REFERENCES

Berlin Museum, Berlin, *Stadtbilder: Berlin
in der Malerei vom 17. Jahrhundert bis
zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Willmuth
Arenhövel and Nicolaische Verlags-
buchhandlung Beuermann, 1987).
Kunstamt, Wedding, *Die November-
gruppe: Teil 1 – Die Maler* (1977).
Pfefferkorn, Rudolf, *Otto Möller* (Berlin:
Stäpt, 1974).

Johannes Molzahn

Born 1892 Duisburg
Died 1965 Munich



EDUCATION

Grossherzogliche Zeichenschule, Weimar

AFFILIATION

Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Der Sturm, Berlin, 1917
Novembergruppe, 1921, 1926, 1929
Gruppe ZZ, Magdeburg, 1925

REFERENCE

Schade, Herbert, *Johannes Molzahn: Einführung in das Werk und die Kunsttheorie des Malers*, (Munich and Zurich: Schnell und Steiner, 1972).



Heinrich Nauen

Born 1880 Krefeld
Died 1940 Kalkar

EDUCATION

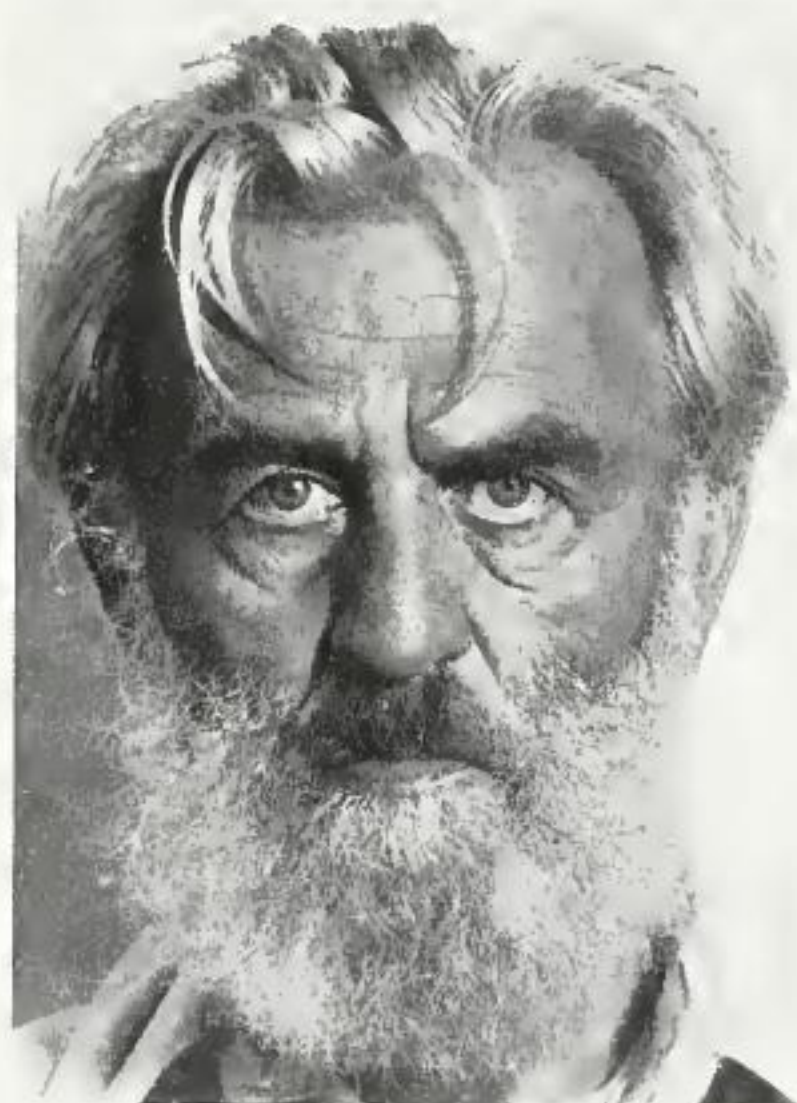
Akademie, Dusseldorf, 1896-99
Private painting school of Heinrich Knirr, Munich, 1899
Akademie, Stuttgart, 1899-1902

AFFILIATIONS

Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin

REFERENCE

Marx, Eberhard, *Heinrich Nauen* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1966).



Otto Pankok

Born 1893 Saarn
Died 1966 Wesel

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dusseldorf, 1912
Akademie, Weimar, 1912-13

AFFILIATIONS

Aktivistebund 1919, Dusseldorf
Gruppe Johanna Ey, Dusseldorf
Das Junge Rheinland, Dusseldorf

REFERENCES

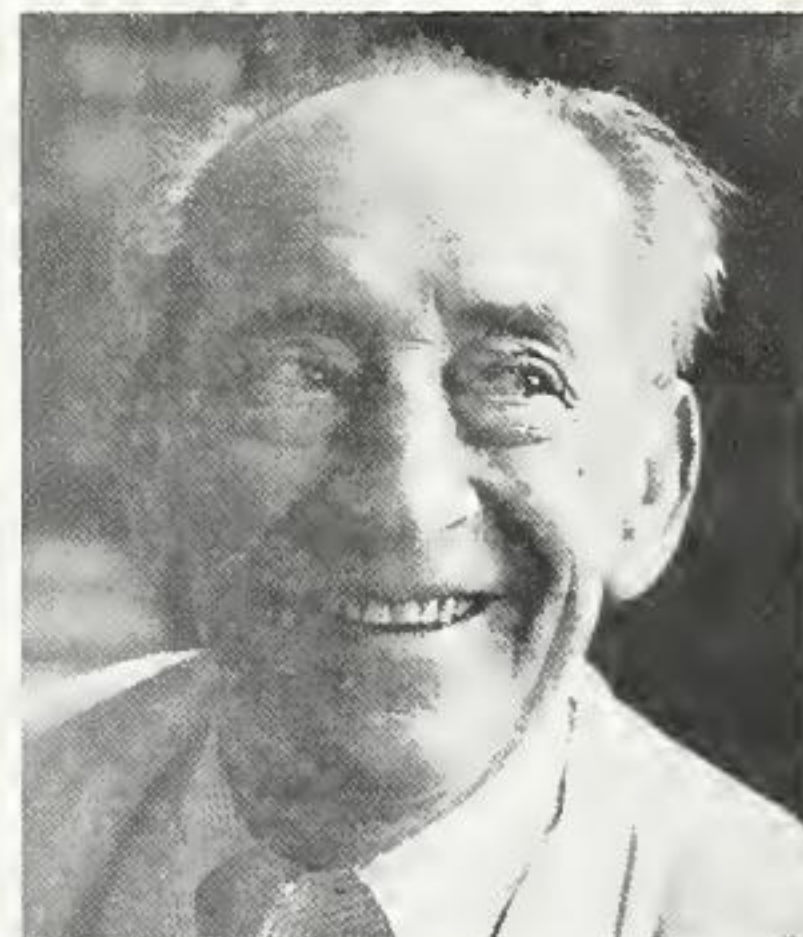
Galerie Remmert & Barth, Dusseldorf, *Otto Pankok: Zeichnungen, Druckgraphiken, Plastiken 1914-64* (1986).
Kasseler Kunstverein e. V., Kassel, *Otto Pankok: Zeichnungen, Holzschnitte, Radierungen, Plastiken* (1968).
Zimmermann, Rainer, *Otto Pankok: Das Werk des Malers, Holzschneiders und Bildhauers* (Berlin: Rembrandt, 1972).

Max Pechstein

Born 1881 Eckersbach
Died 1955 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1900-1902
Akademie, Dresden, 1902-6



AFFILIATIONS

Die Brücke, Dresden/Berlin
Neue Sezession, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITION

Novembergruppe, 1919

REFERENCES

Osborn, Max, *Max Pechstein* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1922).
Pfalzgalerie, Kaiserslautern, *Max Pechstein* (1982).

Wilhelm Plünnecke

Born 1894 Hanover
Died 1954 Stuttgart

EDUCATION

Unterrichtsanstalt des Kunstgewerbemuseums, Berlin



Hans Poelzig

Born 1869 Berlin
Died 1936 Berlin

EDUCATION

Technische Hochschule, Berlin, 1889-94

AFFILIATIONS

Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1924-25

REFERENCE

Heuss, Theodor, *Hans Poelzig: Lebensbild eines deutschen Baumeisters* (Tubingen, 1955).



Anton Räderscheidt

Born 1892 Cologne
Died 1970 Cologne

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Cologne, 1910-14
Akademie, Dusseldorf

AFFILIATION

Gruppe Stupid, Cologne

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Das Junge Rheinland, 1925
Neue Sachlichkeit, 1925

REFERENCE

Richter, Horst, *Anton Räderscheidt* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1970).

Christian Rohlf

Born 1849 Niendorf
Died 1938 Hagen

EDUCATION

Akademie, Weimar, 1870-71, 1874-84

AFFILIATIONS

Neue Sezession, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin



REFERENCE

Vogt, Paul, *Christian Rohlf: Œuvre-Katalog der Gemälde* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1978).



Wilhelm Rudolph

Born 1889 Chemnitz
Died 1982 Dresden?

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden, 1908-14, 1918-20

AFFILIATIONS

Künstlervereinigung, Dresden
Rote Gruppe, Berlin

REFERENCE

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Berlin (East), *Wilhelm Rudolph* (1977).

Hans Scharoun

Born 1893 Bremen
Died 1972 Berlin (West)



EDUCATION

Technische Hochschule, Berlin, 1912-14

REFERENCES

Akademie der Künste, Berlin, *Hans Scharoun* (1967).
Pehnt, Wolfgang, *Die Architektur des Expressionismus* (Teufen: Niggli, and Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1973).



Karl Schmidt-Rotluff

Born 1884 Chemnitz
Died 1976 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Technische Hochschule, Dresden (architectural studies)

AFFILIATIONS

Die Brücke
Neue Sezession, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITION

Die Brücke, Dresden, 1906

REFERENCE

Grohmann, Will, *Karl Schmidt-Rotluff* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956).



Otto Schubert

Born 1892 Dresden
Died 1970 Dresden

EDUCATION

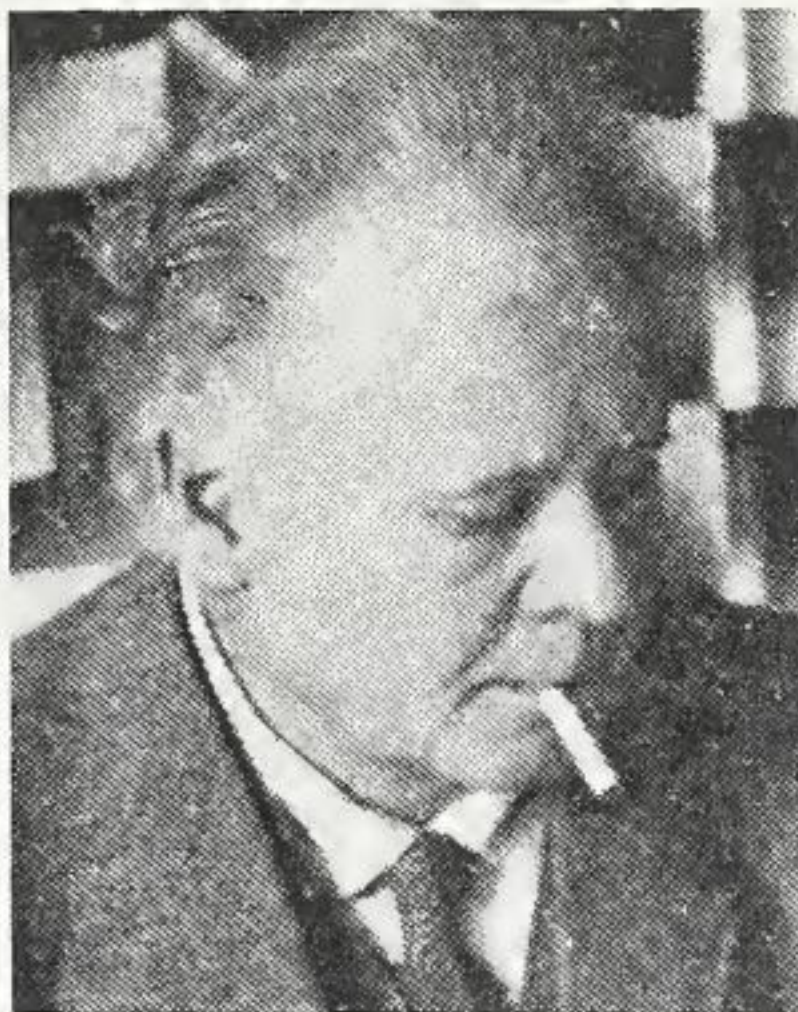
Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1906-9
Akademie, Dresden, 1913-14, 1917-18

AFFILIATIONS

Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden

REFERENCE

See Fritz Löffler in this catalogue, p. 66



Arthur Segal

Born 1875 Iasi, Romania
Died 1944 London

EDUCATION

Akademie, Berlin, 1892-96
Akademie, Munich, 1896-1902

AFFILIATIONS

Neue Sezession, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1921-25, 1927-31

REFERENCE

Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, *Arthur Segal 1875-1944* (1987).



Franz Wilhelm Seiwert

Born 1894 Cologne
Died 1933 Cologne

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Cologne, 1910
School of the Rautenstrauch-Joest
Museum, Cologne, 1913-15

AFFILIATIONS

Gruppe Stupid, Cologne
Die Progressiven, Cologne

REFERENCE

Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, *Franz W. Seiwert, 1894-1933: Leben und Werk* (1978).

Fritz Stuckenberg

Born 1881 Munich
Died 1944 Fussen

EDUCATION

Technische Hochschule, Braunschweig,
1900 (architectural studies)
Kunstgewerbeschule, Weimar, 1903-5
Studied with Emil Nolde, Berlin or
Dresden 1905
Akademie, Munich, 1905-7



AFFILIATIONS

Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1920, 1922, 1928-29

REFERENCE

Schreiner, Ludwig, *Fritz Stuckenberg 1881-1944: Ein Maler des Sturm und der Novembergruppe, Berlin. Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 7 (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968).



Georg Tappert

Born 1880 Berlin
Died 1957 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Akademie, Karlsruhe, 1900-1903

AFFILIATIONS

Neue Sezession, Berlin
Arbeitsrat für Kunst, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-22, 1927-29, 1931

REFERENCE

Wietek, Gerhard, *Georg Tappert 1880-1957: Ein Wegbereiter der Deutschen Moderne* (Munich: Karl Thieme, 1980).



Adolf Uzarski

Born 1885 Ruhrort am Rhein
Died 1970 Düsseldorf

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Düsseldorf
Akademie, Düsseldorf

AFFILIATIONS

Das Junge Rheinland, Düsseldorf
Rheingruppe, Düsseldorf
Rheinische Sezession, Düsseldorf



Karl Völker

Born 1889 Halle
Died 1962 Weimar

EDUCATION

Handwerker- und Kunstgewerbeschule,
Halle
Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1912-13

AFFILIATIONS

Hallische Künstlergruppe, Halle
Vereinigung für Neue Kunst und Literatur,
Magdeburg

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1919-21, 1924-26, 1929

REFERENCE

Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, *Karl Völker, Leben und Werk* (1976).



Christoph Voll

Born 1897 Munich
Died 1939 Karlsruhe

EDUCATION

Kunstgewerbeschule, Dresden, 1918-19
Akademie, Dresden, 1919-22

AFFILIATIONS

Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919, Dresden

REFERENCES

Galeria del Levante, Milan and Munich,
Der Bildhauer Christoph Voll (1975).

See also Fritz Löffler in this catalogue,
pp. 74-75.

William Wauer

Born 1866 Oberwiesenthal
Died 1962 Berlin (West)

EDUCATION

Akademie, Dresden
Akademie, Berlin
Akademie, Munich



Studied in United States, 1887-89?
University of Leipzig (art historical and
philosophical studies)

AFFILIATION

Internationale Vereinigung der Expres-
sionisten, Kubisten, Futuristen und
Konstruktivisten, Berlin (later called
Die Abstrakten)

REFERENCE

Lazlo, Carl, *William Wauer* (Basel:
Editions Panderma Carl Laszlo, 1979).



Gert (sometimes Gerd) Wollheim

Born 1894 Loschwitz
Died 1974 New York City

EDUCATION

Hochschule für bildende Kunst, Weimar,
1911-13

AFFILIATIONS

Das Junge Rheinland, Düsseldorf
Aktivistenbund 1919, Düsseldorf

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Novembergruppe, 1927, 1929, 1931
Das junge Rheinland, 1925

REFERENCE

Galerie Remmert & Barth, Dusseldorf,
Gert H. Wollheim: Die wilden Jahre,
1919-1925 (1984).



Fritz Zalisz

Born 1893 Gera
Died 1971 Leipzig

EDUCATION

Akademie, Munich
Akademie für Graphische Künste und
Buchgewerbe, Leipzig, 1914-18

Magnus Zeller

Born 1888 Biesenrode
Died 1972 Caputh

EDUCATION

Studied under Lovis Corinth, Berlin,
1908-11

AFFILIATIONS

Berliner Sezession, Berlin
Novembergruppe, Berlin (membership
uncertain)

REFERENCE

Zweig, Arnold, and Lothar Lang, *Magnus
Zeller* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst,
1960).



Catalogue of Works Shown in the Exhibition

Dimensions are given in inches and centimeters, height preceeding width.
Unless otherwise stated, the dimensions given for prints are those of the sheet,
not the image; the illustrations reproduce the image only.

1
Peter Abelen, Angelika Hoerle,
Anton Räderscheidt,
Franz Wilhelm Seiwert
Lebendige [The Living], 1919
Portfolio of 7 woodcuts
a) Anton Räderscheidt, title page
b) A. Räderscheidt, *Rosa
Luxemburg*
c) F.W. Seiwert, *Karl Liebknecht*
d) Angelika Hoerle, *Jean Jaurès*
e) P. Abelen, *Kurt Eisner*
f) A. Hoerle, *Eugen Leviné*
g) F.W. Seiwert, *Gustav Landauer*
h) A. Räderscheidt, colophon
11 5/8 x 9 1/16 in. (29.5 x 23 cm)
Private collection, FRG



1a



1b



1c

2
Karl Albiker
Der heilige Sebastian
[St. Sebastian], c. 1920
Wood
H: 57 1/16 in. (145 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR



1d



1e



1f



1g



1h



2



3a



3b



3c



3d



3e



4a



4b

3
Max Beckmann
5 studies for the painting
Die Nacht (The Night),
1917-18
Pencil and ink on paper
a) $6\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.5 x 19.7 cm)
b) $7\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (20 x 21.6 cm)
c) $6\frac{5}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16.1 x 21 cm)
d) $7\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$ in. (18.8 x 23.8 cm)
e) $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{8}$ in. (21.5 x 29.5 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG

4
Max Beckmann
Die Hölle (Hell), 1919
Portfolio of 11 transfer lithographs
a) Plate 3: *Das Martyrium*
(Martyrdom):
 $21\frac{7}{16} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ in. (54.5 x 75 cm)
b) Plate 6: *Die Nacht* (The Night):
 $21\frac{7}{8} \times 27\frac{11}{16}$ in. (55.6 x 70.3 cm)
Städtisches Museum
Mülheim an der Ruhr, FRG

5
Max Beckmann
Das Martyrium (Martyrdom),
1919
Lithographic crayon on transfer
paper with corrections on pasted
tissue overlays
Sheet: 24¹/₄ x 33¹/₂ in.
(61.6 x 85.1 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
Lee M. Friedman Fund
(Los Angeles and Ft. Worth only)



5

6
Rudolf Belling
Dreiklang (Triad), 1919 cast
after 1950
Bronze
35⁷/₁₆ x 33⁷/₁₆ x 30⁵/₁₆ in.
(90 x 85 x 77 cm)
Private collection



6

7
Rudolf Belling
Bildnis Alfred Flechtheim
(Portrait of Alfred Flechtheim),
1927, cast after World War II
Bronze
7³/₈ x 4³/₄ x 5¹/₈ in.
(18.7 x 12 x 13 cm)
I) The Minneapolis Institute of
Arts, the John R. Van Derlip
Fund (Los Angeles and Ft. Worth
only)
II) Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG
(Düsseldorf and Halle only)



7

8
Rüdiger Berlit
Noli me tangere, 1927
Oil on canvas
40³/₁₆ x 35⁷/₁₆ in. (102 x 90 cm)
Museum der bildenden Künste,
Leipzig, GDR



8

9
Bruno Beye
Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait),
1918
Oil on canvas
22⁷/₁₆ x 18¹¹/₁₆ in. (57 x 47.5 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR



9

10
Bruno Beye
Selbstbildnis II (Self-Portrait II),
1921
Woodcut
8⁵/₁₆ x 7³/₁₆ in. (22.7 x 18.2 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR



10



11
Bruno Beye
*Bildnis eines älteren Herren
beim Zeichnen* (Portrait of an
Old Man Drawing), 1926
Pencil on paper
18¹³/₁₆ x 12¹/₁₆ in. (47.8 x 30.6 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR



11



12
Albert Birkle
Revolution, 1919
Charcoal on paper
19⁵/₁₆ x 35⁷/₁₆ in. (49 x 90 cm)
Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG

13



13
Albert Birkle
*Strasse mit dem
Schlächterwagen* (Street with
the Butcher-Wagon), 1922-23
Oil on paper
27¹⁵/₁₆ x 39³/₄ in. (71 x 101 cm)
Marvin and Janet Fishman,
Milwaukee

14
Peter August Böckstiegel
*Auszug der Jünglinge in den
Krieg. Studie* (Departure of the
Youngsters for War, Study),
1914
Oil on canvas
38 x 66¹⁵/₁₆ in. (96.5 x 170 cm)
Peter August Böckstiegel-Haus,
Werther-Arrode, FRG
(Los Angeles, Düsseldorf, and Halle
only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 65)

14

15
Peter August Böckstiegel
Die Mutter (The Mother),
c. 1915
Oil on canvas
63³/₈ x 46¹/₄ in. (161 x 117.5 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR
[also illustrated in color on p. 65]

16
Peter August Bockstiegel
*Gefährten mit Tod (Der Tod
im Lazarett)* [Companions
with Death [Death in the
Military Hospital]], 1919
Woodcut
14 1/2 x 11 13/16 in. (36.8 x 30 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

17
Peter August Böckstiegel
Hilfswerk der IAH (Relief
Organization of the IAH), 1921
Lithograph poster
26¹¹/₁₆ x 20¹¹/₁₆ in. (68.5 x 52.5 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

18
Lorenz Bösen
Der Fahnenträger (The Flag
Bearer), 1919
Oil on canvas
26 x 21³/₈ in. (66 x 55 cm)
Lorenz Bösen, Jr.

19
Max Burchartz
Die Dämonen I (The Devils I),
c. 1919
Plate 1 from a portfolio of
8 lithographs
Image: 7⁷/₁₆ x 4¹³/₁₆ in.
(18.9 x 12.2 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
German Expressionist Studies,
purchased with funds provided by
Anna Bing Arnold, Museum
Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession
Funds
(Los Angeles only)



15



16



17



19



18



21a



21

20
Otto Dix
Der Krieg (War), 1914
Oil on paper
38³/₄ x 27³/₈ in. (98.5 x 69.5 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG
(Düsseldorf only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 69)

21
Otto Dix
Selbstbildnis als Soldat
(Self-Portrait as Soldier), 1914
and verso: a) *Selbstbildnis mit Artilleriehalm* (Self-Portrait with Artillery Helmet), 1914-15
Oil on paper
26³/₄ x 21¹/₁₆ in. (68 x 53.5 cm)
Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart, FRG
(Los Angeles only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 19)

22
Otto Dix
Leuchtkugel (Signal Flare), 1917
Gouache on paper
16¹/₁₆ x 15¹/₂ in. (40.8 x 39.4 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG
(Los Angeles, Ft. Worth, and
Düsseldorf only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 68)

23 (illustration p. 150)
Otto Dix
Zwei Schützen (Two Riflemen), 1917
Charcoal on paper
15⁹/₁₆ x 16¹/₈ in. (39.5 x 41 cm)
Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart, FRG

24
Otto Dix
Abendsonne (Ypern)
(Setting Sun [Ypres]), 1918
Gouache
15⁷/₁₆ x 16¹/₄ in. (39.2 x 41.3 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG
(Los Angeles, Ft. Worth, and
Düsseldorf only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 20)



20

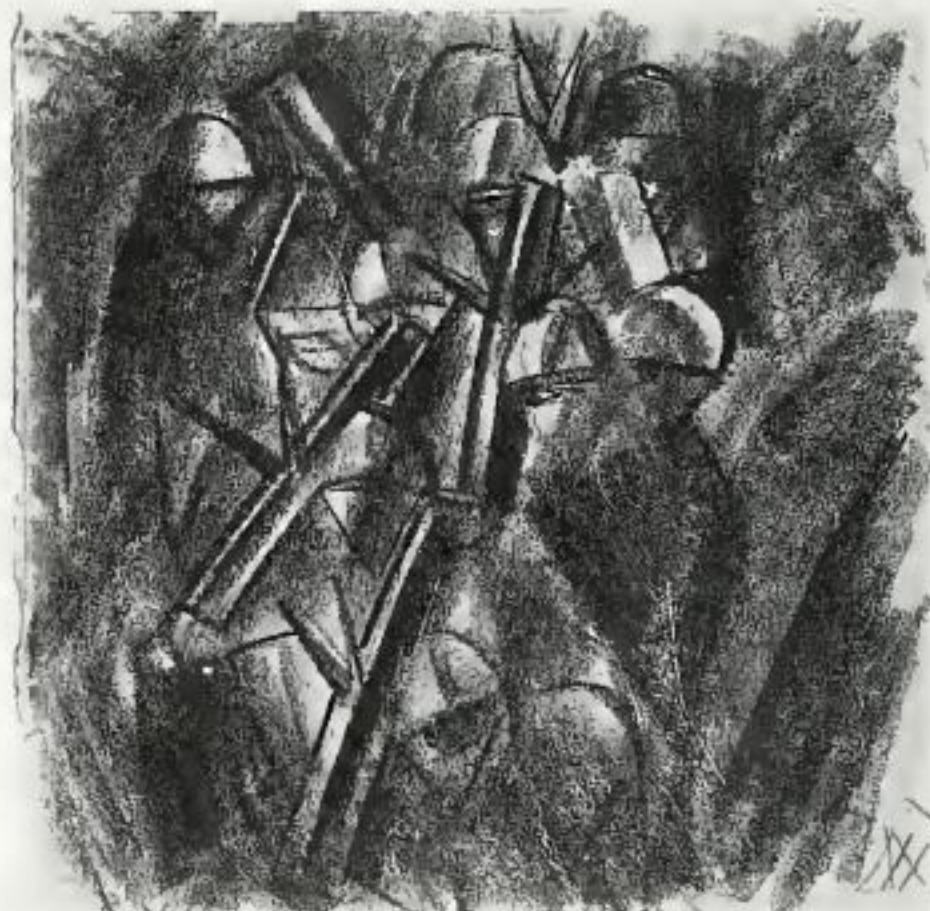


22



24

25
Otto Dix
Maschinengewehr
[Machine Gun], c. 1918
Charcoal on paper
11¹/₈ x 11¹/₈ in. (28.2 x 28.2 cm)
Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart, FRG



26
Otto Dix
Schwerer Granateinschlag
[Heavy Shell Fire], 1918
Charcoal on paper
11¹/₄ x 11⁷/₁₆ in. (28.6 x 29 cm)
Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart, FRG

27
Otto Dix
Sehnsucht (Longing), 1918
Oil on canvas
21¹/₁₆ x 20¹/₂ in. (53.5 x 52 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 71)



28
Otto Dix
Krieger mit Pfeife
[Soldier with Pipe], 1918
Gouache
15⁹/₁₆ x 15³/₈ in. (39.5 x 39 cm)
Private collection, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 56)

29
Otto Dix
Gruppe 1919 [Group 1919],
1919
Poster, lithograph
34¹/₄ x 22³/₈ in. (87 x 56.8 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR





31a



31b



31c



31d



31e



31f



31g



31h



31i

30 (illustration p. 152)

Otto Dix

Leda, 1919

Oil on canvas

40³/₄ x 31¹¹/₁₆ in. (103.5 x 80.5 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by Charles K. Feldman, Mr. and Mrs. John C. Best, and B. Gerald Cantor

[also illustrated in color on p. 70]

31

Otto Dix

Neun Holzschnitte (Nine Woodcuts), 1919-20

Portfolio of 9 woodcuts

a) *Strasse* (Street)

b) *Elektrische* (The Streetcar)

c) *Die Prominenten* (Konstellation) (The Celebrities [Constellation])

d) *Lärm der Strasse* (Street Noise)

e) *Liebespaar* (Lovers)

f) *Katzen* (Cats)

g) *Mann und Weib* (Nächtliche Szene) (Man and Woman [Nocturnal Scene])

h) *Apotheose* (Apotheosis)

i) *Scherzo*

Plates a-b, sheet: 17 x 13⁵/₈ in. (43.2 x 35.3 cm), each slightly irregular

Plates c-i, sheet: 16³/₄ x 13⁷/₁₆ in. (42.3 x 34.7 cm), each slightly irregular

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

32
Otto Dix
Bildnis Max John (Lesender Arbeiter) [Portrait of Max John [Worker Reading]], 1920
Oil on canvas
27⁹/₁₆ x 23¹/₄ in. (70 x 59 cm)
Haus der Heimat, Freital, GDR

33
Otto Dix
St. Sebastian, c. 1920
Ink on paper
23⁵/₈ x 18³/₈ in. (60 x 46.6 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

34
Otto Dix
Die Skatspieler
(*Kartenspielende Krüppel*)
[The Skat Players [Cripples Playing Cards]], 1920
Oil and collage on canvas
43⁵/₁₆ x 33⁷/₁₆ in. (110 x 85 cm)
Private collection, FRG
(Los Angeles and Ft. Worth only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 28)

35
Otto Dix
Frau Johanna Ey (Johanna Ey), 1924
Oil on canvas
55¹/₈ x 35⁷/₁₆ in. (140 x 90 cm)
Private collection
(Dusseldorf only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 89)



30



35



32



33



34



36a



36b



36c



36d



36e



36f



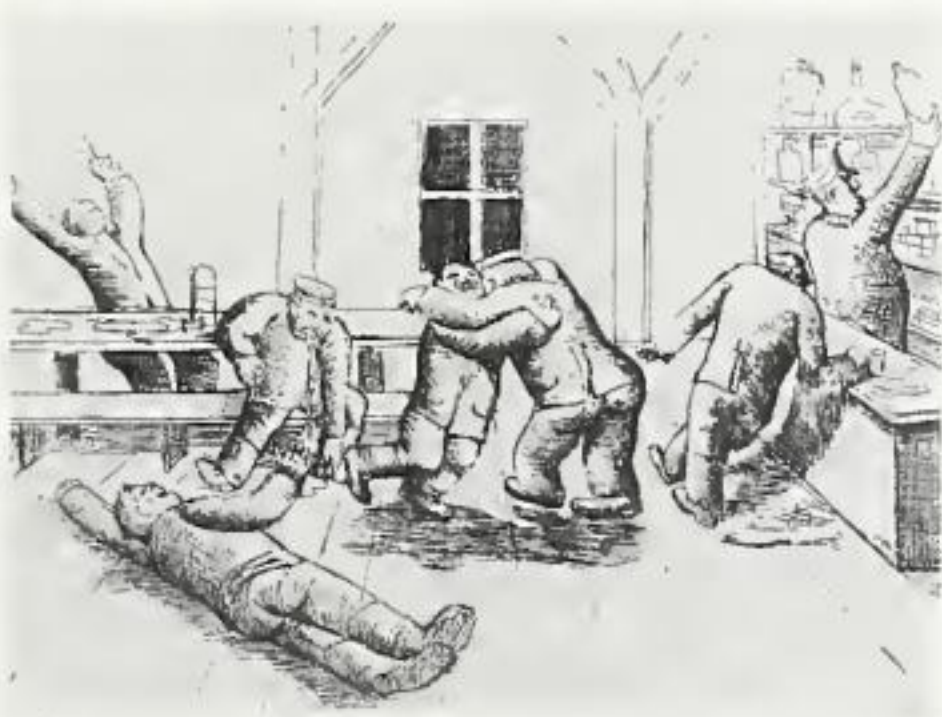
36g



36h



36i



36j

36

Otto Dix

Der Krieg (War), 1924

50 etchings

a) *Fliehender Verwundeter, Sommeschlacht 1916* (Wounded Man Fleeing, Battle of the Somme 1916)

7³/₄ x 5¹/₂ in. (19.7 x 14.0 cm)

b) *Transplantation (Skin Graft)*

7³/₁₆ x 5⁷/₈ in. (19.9 x 14.9 cm)

c) *Toter (Saint-Clément)* (Dead Man [Saint-Clément])

11³/₄ x 10¹/₄ in. (29.9 x 25.9 cm)

d) *Toter im Schlamm* (Dead Man in the Mud)

7³/₄ x 10¹/₈ in. (19.5 x 25.8 cm)

e) *Verwundeter (Herbst 1916, Bapaume)* (Wounded Man [Autumn 1916, Bapaume])

7³/₄ x 11³/₈ in. (19.7 x 29.0 cm)

f) *Die Irrsinnige von Sainte-Marie-à-Py* (The Madwoman of Sainte-Marie-à-Py)

11⁵/₁₆ x 7³/₄ in. (28.8 x 19.8 cm)

g) *Besuch bei Madame Germaine in Méricourt* (Visit to Madame Germaine in Méricourt)

10¹/₄ x 7³/₄ in. (26.1 x 19.8 cm)

h) *Gesehen am Steilhang von Cléry-sur-Somme* (Seen on the Escarpment at Cléry-sur-Somme)

10³/₄ x 7³/₄ in. (26.0 x 19.8 cm)

i) *Pferdekadaver* (Horse Cadaver)

5¹¹/₁₆ x 7³/₄ in. (14.5 x 19.7 cm)

j) *Kantine in Haplincourt* (Canteen in Haplincourt)

7³/₁₆ x 10³/₁₆ in. (19.8 x 25.9 cm)

Sheet: 13⁷/₈ x 18¹¹/₁₆ in.

(35.3 x 47.5 cm)

I) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies (Los Angeles and Ft. Worth only)

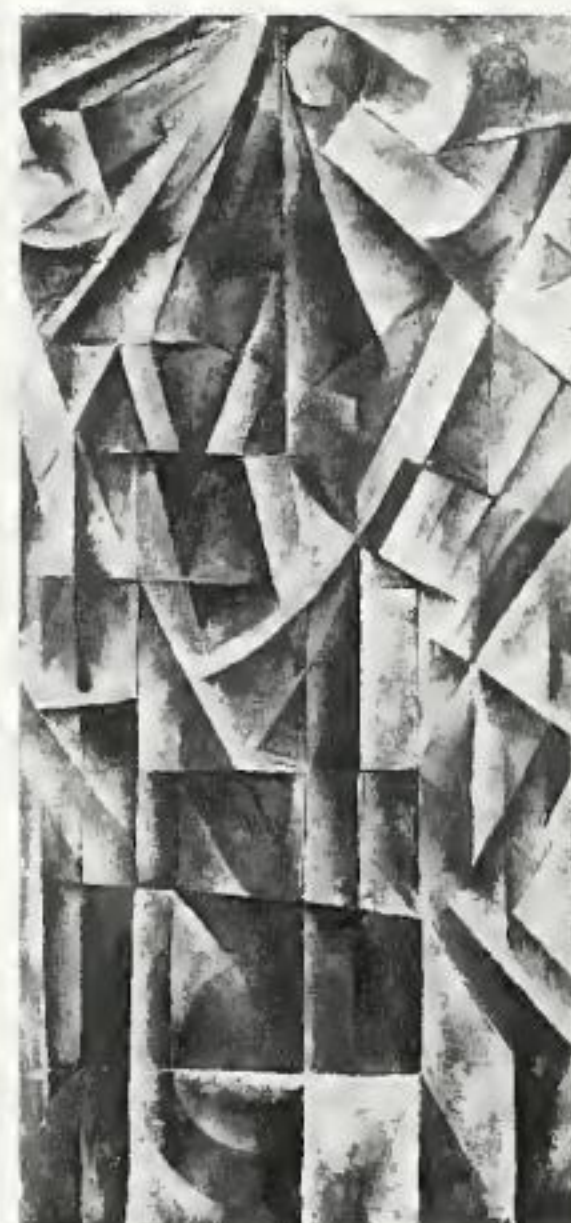
II) Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG (Düsseldorf and Halle only)

37
Friedrich Peter Drömmmer
Der Revolutionär
(*Selbstporträt mit Weinglas*)
[The Revolutionary [Self-Portrait with Wineglass]], 1919
Oil on canvas
39 x 31 1/2 in. (99 x 80 cm)
Schleswig-Holsteinisches
Landesmuseum, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 98)



37

38
Max Dungert
Turm (Tower), 1922
Oil on canvas
70 7/8 x 35 7/16 in. (180 x 90 cm)
Berlinsche Galerie, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 51)



38

39
Heinrich Ehmsen
Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait),
1923
Oil on paper
27 9/16 x 20 7/16 in. (70 x 51 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR



39

40
Heinrich Ehmsen
Irrensaal (*Unruhige Abteilung*)
[Hall for the Insane [Restless
Ward]], 1925
Oil on canvas
50 x 39 3/8 in. (127 x 100 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR



40

41
Max Ernst
Der Familienausflug (The
Family Outing), 1919
Oil on cardboard
14 3/16 x 10 1/4 in. (36 x 26 cm)
The State Jewish Museum, Prague,
Czechoslovakia



41

42
Max Ernst
Das Leben im Haus (Life in the
Home), 1919
Oil on cardboard
14 3/16 x 11 1/4 in. (36 x 28.5 cm)
The State Jewish Museum, Prague,
Czechoslovakia
(also illustrated in color on p. 91)



42



43



44



45



46



47



48

43
Rudi Feld
Die Gefahr des Bolschewismus
(The Danger of Bolshevism),
c. 1919
Poster, lithograph
Image: 37 x 27⁵/₁₆ in. (94 x 69.3 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Collection, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on p. 25)

44
Conrad Felixmüller
Bildnis Felix Stierner (Portrait
of Felix Stierner), 1918
Oil on canvas
23⁵/₈ x 17¹²/₁₆ in. (60 x 45 cm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 62)

45
Conrad Felixmüller
Menschen über der Welt
(Mankind above the World),
1919
Lithograph
27¹⁵/₁₆ x 19⁵/₁₆ in. (71 x 49 cm)
I) Private Collection (Los Angeles,
Fort Worth and Dusseldorf only)
II) Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, GDR
(Halle only)

46
Conrad Felixmüller
Der Revolutionär (The
Revolutionary), 1919
Woodcut
9⁷/₁₆ x 6⁵/₈ in. (24 x 16.8 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG

47
Conrad Felixmüller
Bildnis Elfriede Hausmann
(Portrait of Elfriede
Hausmann), 1920
Oil on canvas
31¹/₈ x 21⁵/₈ in. (79 x 55 cm)
Marvin and Janet Fishman,
Milwaukee
(also illustrated in color on p. 62)

48
Conrad Felixmüller
Bildnis Raoul Hausmann
(Portrait of Raoul Hausmann),
1920
Oil on canvas
33⁷/₁₆ x 26³/₈ in. (85 x 67 cm)
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
Altenburg, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 41)

49
Conrad Felixmüller
Bildnis Otto Ritsdil (Portrait of
Otto Ritsdil), 1920
Oil on canvas
33⁷/₁₆ x 29¹/₂ in. (85 x 75 cm)
Marvin and Janet Fishman,
Milwaukee
(also illustrated in color on p. 61)



49

50
Conrad Felixmüller
Otto Dix malt (Otto Dix
Painting), 1920
Oil on canvas
47¹/₄ x 37³/₈ in. (120 x 95 cm)
Staatliche Museen Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 10)



50

51
Conrad Felixmüller
Ruhrrevier (The Ruhr District),
1920
Oil on canvas
31¹/₂ x 25⁹/₁₆ in. (80 x 65 cm)
Private collection, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 20)



51

52
Conrad Felixmüller
Arbeiter auf dem Heimweg
(Workers on the Way Home),
1921
Oil on canvas
37³/₈ x 37³/₈ in. (95 x 95 cm)
Private collection, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 21)



52

53
Conrad Felixmüller
Der Arbeiter Max John (The
Worker Max John), 1921
Oil on canvas
35⁵/₈ x 29¹/₄ in. (90.5 x 75.5 cm)
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
Altenburg, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 118)



53

54
Conrad Felixmüller
*Der Schaubudenboxer auf der
Vogelwiese* (The Exhibition
Boxer at the Vogelwiese), 1921
Oil on canvas
37³/₈ x 43⁵/₁₆ in. (95 x 110 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 61)



54



56



55

55
Conrad Felixmüller
Bildnis Franz Pfemfert
(Portrait of Franz Pfemfert),
1923
Oil on canvas
26³/₄ x 23¹/₁₆ in. (68 x 58.5 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Kassel, FRG
(Los Angeles only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 12)

56
Conrad Felixmüller
Ich male meinen Sohn (I Paint
My Son), 1923
Oil on canvas
46⁷/₁₆ x 29¹/₂ in. (117 x 75 cm)
Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie
Regensburg, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 60)



58

57
Conrad Felixmüller
*Opfer der Not / Für das
Hilfswerk der IAH* (Victim of
Privation / For the Relief
Organization of the IAH), 1924
Woodcut
27⁹/₁₆ x 19⁵/₈ in. (70 x 49.8 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR



57

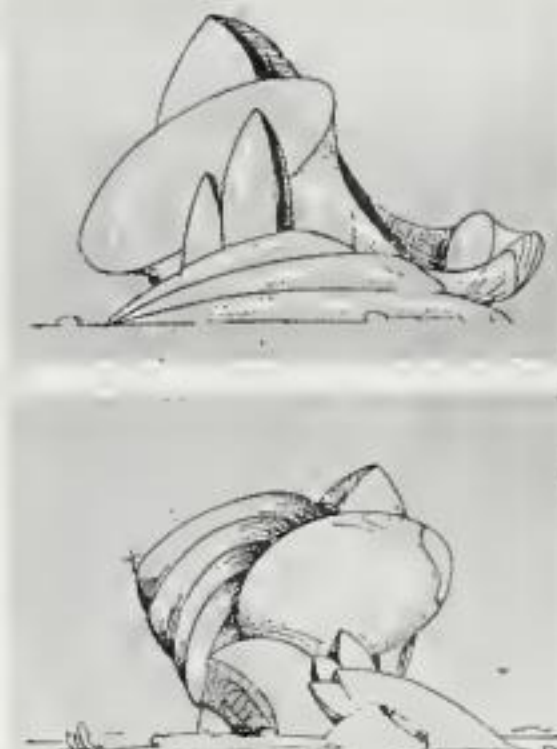
58
Conrad Felixmüller
*Der Tod des Dichters Walter
Rheiner* (Death of the Poet
Walter Rheiner), 1925
Oil on canvas
72¹³/₁₆ x 51¹/₁₆ in. (185 x 130 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection
and Foundation, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on
frontispiece p. 2)

59
Hermann Finsterlin
Untitled, 1919
Ink, watercolor, and pencil on paper
15³/₈ x 11¹³/₁₆ in. (39 x 30 cm)
Kicken Pauseback Galerie,
Cologne, FRG

60
Hermann Finsterlin
Untitled
Ink and watercolor on paper
13³/₄ x 9¹³/₁₆ in. (35 x 25 cm)
Kicken Pauseback Galerie,
Cologne, FRG



59



60

61
Otto Freundlich
Die Mutter (The Mother), 1921
Oil on canvas
47¹/₄ x 39³/₈ in. (120 x 100 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG
[also illustrated in color on p. 53]



61

62
Heinz Fuchs
Arbeiter! Wollt Ihr satt werden? (Workers! Do You Want Enough to Eat?), 1918-19
Poster, lithograph
Image: 25 x 33⁷/₁₆ in. (63.5 x 85 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills



62

63
Heinz Fuchs
Arbeiter. Hunger. Tod naht (Workers. Hunger. Death Approaches), 1919
Poster, lithograph
Image: 26⁵/₁₆ x 35⁷/₈ in. (66.8 x 91.9 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills



63

64
Paul Fuhrmann
Freiheitsdichter (Poets of Freedom), 1921
Watercolor
16 x 12¹/₁₆ in. (40.7 x 30.7 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR



64

65
Paul Fuhrmann
Schöpfungstag (The Day of Creation), 1921
Oil on canvas
58¹/₄ x 52³/₄ in. (148 x 134 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR



65

66
Paul Fuhrmann
Technokratie (Technocracy), 1924
Oil on canvas
41¹/₁₆ x 31⁷/₈ in. (105 x 81 cm)
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, GDR



66



67



68

67
Herbert Garbe
Gruppe des Todes I (Group of Death I), 1919
Wood
H: 35³/₄ in. (including base)
(90.8 cm)
Yale University Art Gallery, gift of
Katherine S. Dreier for the
Collection Société Anonyme

68
Otto Gleichmann
Vor dunkler Landschaft (Before a Dark Landscape), 1920
Oil on canvas
40³/₁₆ x 32¹¹/₁₆ in. (102 x 83 cm)
Sprengel Museum Hanover, FRG
(Los Angeles only)

69
Otto Gleichmann
Sitzender Mädchenakt/Die Katze (Seated Nude Girl/The Cat), 1920
Oil on canvas
43¹/₄ x 29¹⁵/₁₆ in. (109.9 x 76 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Foundation, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on p. 111)



69



70

70
Otto Gleichmann
Strahlen-Sturzen (The Collapse of Hope), 1920
Oil on canvas
59¹/₁₆ x 48¹³/₁₆ in. (150 x 124 cm)
Sprengel Museum Hanover, FRG
(Los Angeles only)

71
Otto Gleichmann
Der Erstochene (Stabbed Man), 1923
Watercolor, gouache, and ink on paper
18³/₄ x 25 in. (47.6 x 63.5 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies



71

72
Friedrich Karl Gotsch
Kreuzigung (Crucifixion), 1919
Woodcut
8⁷/₁₆ x 9¹⁵/₁₆ in. (21.4 x 25.2 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG



72

73
Friedrich Karl Gotsch
Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait),
1919
Woodcut
8¹⁷/₁₆ x 7³/₁₆ in. (22 x 18.3 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG



74

74
Friedrich Karl Gotsch
Der Tod des Jünglings (The
Death of the Young Man), 1919
Woodcut
8⁹/₁₆ x 9⁵/₈ in. (21.7 x 24.5 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG



73



75

75
Friedrich Karl Gotsch
Todesmusik (Death Music),
1920
Woodcut
9³/₄ x 7¹⁵/₁₆ in. (24.7 x 20.1 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG



76

76
Friedrich Karl Gotsch
Untitled, 1920
Woodcut
9¹¹/₁₆ x 8⁷/₈ in. (24.6 x 22.5 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG

77
Walter Gramatté
Die Kakteendame (The Cactus
Lady), 1918
Oil on canvas
29⁵/₁₆ x 23¹³/₁₆ in. (74.5 x 60.5 cm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, GDR



77

78
Walter Gramatté
*Lenz: Ein Fragment von Georg
Büchner mit zwölf
Radierungen von Walter
Gramatté* (Lenz: A Fragment
by George Büchner with
Twelve Etchings by Walter
Gramatté), c. 1919
Etching
Plate 9: 10⁹/₁₆ x 7⁷/₁₆ in.
(26.9 x 18.9 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
German Expressionist Studies,
purchased with funds provided by
Anna Bing Arnold, Museum
Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession
Funds



78

79
Walter Gramatté
Müde (Tired), 1919
Woodcut
8⁵/₁₆ x 6¹/₈ in. (21.1 x 15.6 cm)
Private collection, Canada



79



80



81

80
Walter Gramatté
Bildnis Rosa Schapire (Portrait
of Rosa Schapire), 1920
Oil on canvas
29¹/₈ x 26³/₈ in. (74 x 67 cm)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, GDR
[also illustrated in color on p. 109]

81
Walter Gramatté
Ermüdender Kopf;
Selbstporträt (Tired Head; Self-
Portrait), 1922
Plate 3 from the portfolio of 9
etchings *Das Gesicht* (The Face)
24 x 18 in. (61 x 45.7 cm)
I) Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center
for German Expressionist Studies
(Los Angeles and Ft. Worth only)
II) Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG
(Düsseldorf and Halle only)



82



85

82
Otto Griebel
Helft am Werk der IAH (Help
the Efforts of the IAH) c. 1921
Lithograph
27²/₁₆ x 18¹/₈ in. (70 x 46 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

83
George Grosz
Café, 1915
Oil on canvas with charcoal
underdrawing
24 x 15⁷/₈ in. (61 x 40.3 cm)
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture
Garden, Smithsonian Institution.
Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn
Foundation, 1966

84
George Grosz
Selbstmord (Suicide), 1916
Oil on canvas
39³/₈ x 30¹/₂ in. (100 x 77.5 cm)
The Trustees of the Tate Gallery,
London
(Los Angeles and Ft. Worth only)
[also illustrated in color on p. 15]



83



84

85
George Grosz
Metropolis, 1916-17
Oil on canvas
39³/₈ x 40³/₁₆ in. (100 x 102 cm)
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,
Lugano, Switzerland
[also illustrated in color on p. 16]

86
George Grosz
Explosion, 1917
Oil on composition board
18⁷/₈ x 26⁷/₈ in. (46.8 x 68.2 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York,
gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irving
Moskovitz
(also illustrated in color on p. 17)



86

87
George Grosz
Sonnenfinsternis (Eclipse of the Sun), 1926
Oil on canvas
85¹³/₁₆ x 74 in. (218 x 188 cm)
Heckscher Museum, Huntington,
New York
(Los Angeles and Ft. Worth only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 29)

88
Adolf de Haer
Mädchen mit Blume (Girl with Flower), 1919
Oil on canvas
39³/₈ x 26³/₄ in. (100 x 68 cm)
Galerie Remmert & Barth,
Dusseldorf, FRG



88

89
Josef Hegenbarth
Der Faulenzer (The Idler), 1920
Distemper on canvas
27⁹/₁₆ x 31¹¹/₁₆ in. (70 x 80.5 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR



89

90
Josef Hegenbarth
Der Fresser (The Glutton), 1920
Distemper on canvas
24¹³/₁₆ x 28⁹/₁₆ in. (63 x 72.5 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR



90



91



92



93

91
Katharina Heise
Mädchen im Wind (Girl in the Wind), c. 1918
Woodcut
8⁷/₁₆ x 8⁷/₁₆ in. (21.5 x 21.5 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR

92
Katharina Heise
Tod und Mädchen (Death and Girl), c. 1918
Woodcut
6¹/₈ x 4¹³/₁₆ in. (15.5 x 12.2 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR



94



96

93
Katharina Heise
Paar (Couple), c. 1918
Woodcut
7 x 4¹¹/₁₆ in. (17.8 x 11.9 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR

94
Katharina Heise
Harald Kreutzberg, 1919-20
Bronze
H: 14⁹/₁₆ in. (37 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR

95
Katharina Heise
Tänzerin (Dancer), 1922
Bronze
H: 22¹/₁₆ in. (56 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, GDR

96
Hans Siebert von Heister
Liebespaar (Lovers), 1919
Oil on canvas
23¹/₄ x 21¹/₁₆ in. (59 x 53.5 cm)
Dr. and Mrs. David Edelbaum

97
Hans Siebert von Heister
Pietà, 1919
Oil on canvas
16²/₈ x 13³/₈ in. (41 x 34 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on p. 50)



95



97

98
Hans Siebert von Heister
Zorn [Anger], 1919
Oil on canvas
24⁷/₁₆ x 18⁷/₈ in. (62 x 48 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Modern Art Acquisition Fund



98

99
Hans Siebert von Heister
Drei Frauen [Three Women],
1919-20
Oil on canvas
34⁵/₈ x 23¹/₈ in. (88 x 58.7 cm)
Fine Art Society of Los Angeles



99

100
Paul Rudolph Henning
Max Pechstein, c. 1918
Bronze
14⁹/₁₆ x 9¹³/₁₆ x 6¹¹/₁₆ in.
(37 x 25 x 17 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, purchased with funds provided
by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Best

101
Oswald Herzog
Geniessen (Enjoyment), c. 1920
Bronze
8¹/₁₆ x 15³/₁₆ x 2³/₄ in.
(20.5 x 38.5 x 7 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG



100

102
Angelika Hoerle
Lebendige [The Living], 1919
(see Cat. 1)

103
Eugen Hoffmann
Klavierspieler [Piano Player],
1919
Woodcut
15¹¹/₁₆ x 13¹¹/₁₆ in. (39.8 x 34.8 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

101



101

104 (illustration p. 165)
Eugen Hoffmann
Kopf [Head], 1919
10 Woodcuts
a) Plate 3 (image): 17¹⁵/₁₆ x
15¹⁵/₁₆ in. (45.5 x 40.5 cm)
b) Plate 4 (image): 17⁵/₈ x 15³/₄ in.
(44.7 x 40 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
German Expressionist Studies

105
Eugen Hoffmann
Das Paar [The Couple], 1919
Woodcut
15³/₄ x 13⁵/₈ in. (40 x 34.6 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR



103



105



104b



104a

106
Richard Horn
Aufbruch/Erwachen
(Departure/Awakening), 1919
Bronze
H: 39 in. (99 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR

107
Walter Jacob
Adam und Eva (Adam and
Eve), 1920
Woodcut
Image: $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ in.
(34.9 x 25.1 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Foundation, Beverly Hills

108
Walter Jacob
Alte Frau (Old Woman), 1920
Woodcut
Image: $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{9}{16}$ in.
(34.9 x 24.3 cm), irregular
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Foundation, Beverly Hills

109
Walter Jacob
Frau am Feuer (Woman at the
Fire), 1920
Woodcut
Image: $19\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ in.
(49.5 x 59.7 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Foundation, Beverly Hills



106



109



107



108

110

Walter Jacob
Das jüngste Gericht (The Last Judgment), 1920
 Oil on canvas
 45³/₈ x 47¹/₂ in. (115.3 x 120.7 cm)
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Foundation, Beverly Hills
 (also illustrated in color on p. 30)



110

111

Walter Jacob
Der Kuss (The Kiss), 1920
 Woodcut
 Image: 15³/₄ x 11³/₄ in.
 (40 x 29.8 cm), irregular
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Foundation, Beverly Hills



111

112

Walter Jacob and Eugen
 Hoffmann
*Plakat Kunstaussstellung
 Galerie Richter, Dresden*
 (Poster of the exhibition at the
 Galerie Richter, Dresden), 1920
 Poster, lithograph
 36¹¹/₁₆ x 23⁵/₈ in. (93.2 x 60 cm)
 Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
 Altenburg, GDR



113

113

Walter Jacob
Selbst (Self), 1920
 Woodcut
 Image: 24 x 18¹/₈ in. (61 x 46 cm)
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Foundation, Beverly Hills

114

Walter Jacob
Rauchender Mann
 (*Selbstbildnis*) (Man Smoking
 [Self-Portrait]), 1921
 Pencil on paper
 22¹/₁₆ x 18¹/₈ in. (56 x 46 cm)
 Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
 Altenburg, GDR



112

115

Willy Jaeckel
Russische Landschaft (Russian
 Landscape), 1919
 Oil on canvas
 47¹/₄ x 47¹/₂ in. (120 x 120.5 cm)
 Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie
 Regensburg, FRG



114

116

Willy Jaeckel
Der heilige Sebastian (St.
 Sebastian), 1919
 Etching
 Plate: 9¹/₄ x 7⁷/₈ in. (24.8 x 20 cm)
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Foundation, Beverly Hills



115



116



117



118

117
Walter Kampmann
Der Feldherr (The Military
Commander), 1922
Oil on canvas
24⁷/₁₆ x 20¹/₄ in. (62 x 51.5 cm)
Winnetou Kampmann, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 51)

118
Edmund Kesting
Auferstehung (Resurrection),
1920
Woodcut
11¹³/₁₆ x 8¹/₁₆ in. (30 x 20.5 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

119
Edmund Kesting
Dorf mit Spinne (Village with
Spider), 1920
Oil on canvas
17¹¹/₁₆ x 23⁵/₈ in. (45 x 60 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 78)

120
Edmund Kesting
Kirche (Church), 1920
Oil on canvas
13³/₈ x 13⁹/₁₆ in. (34 x 34.5 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 78)

121
Edmund Kesting
Mühle (Mill), 1920
Oil on canvas
15¹⁵/₁₆ x 14 in. (40.5 x 35.5 cm)
Private collection, FRG

122
Edmund Kesting
Untitled, 1920
Collage on paper
11¹³/₁₆ x 9⁷/₁₆ in. (30 x 24 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG



121



119



120



122

123

Cesar Klein
*Arbeiter, Bürger, Bauern,
Soldaten aller Stämme
Deutschlands. Vereinigt Euch
zur Nationalversammlung*
(Workers, Citizens, Farmers,
Soldiers from all Areas of
Germany. Unite for the
National Assembly), 1919
Poster, lithograph
26³/₄ x 38³/₁₆ in. (68 x 97 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Collection, Beverly Hills



123

124

Käthe Kollwitz
*Gedenkblatt für Karl
Liebknecht* (Memorial Sheet
for Karl Liebknecht), 1919
Lithograph
Image: 15³/₁₆ x 25⁹/₁₆ in.
(40.2 x 65 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
German Expressionist Studies



124

125

Käthe Kollwitz
*Gedenkblatt für Karl
Liebknecht* (Memorial Sheet
for Karl Liebknecht), 1919
Woodcut
14¹/₁₆ x 19³/₄ in. (35.7 x 50.2 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
German Expressionist Studies



125



128

Mitt-deutscher Jugendtag
Leipzig 2.-4. August 1924

127



126a



126c



126d



126b



126e



126f



126g

126

Käthe Kollwitz

Sieben Holzschnitte zum Krieg
(Seven Woodcuts about the War), 1922-23

7 woodcuts

a) *Das Opfer* (The Sacrifice)

Sheet: 18 1/2 x 25 1/2 in.

(47 x 64.8 cm)

b) *Die Freiwilligen* (The Volunteers)

Sheet: 18 1/2 x 25 3/4 in.

(47 x 65.4 cm)

c) *Die Eltern* (The Parents)

Sheet: 18 1/2 x 25 3/4 in.

(47 x 65.4 cm)

d) *Die Witwe I* (The Widow I)

Sheet: 26 x 18 1/2 in. (66 x 47 cm)

e) *Die Witwe II* (The Widow II)

Sheet: 18 1/2 x 25 3/4 in.

(47 x 65.4 cm)

f) *Die Mütter* (The Mothers)

Sheet: 18 1/2 x 25 1/2 in.

(47 x 64.8 cm), irregular

g) *Das Volk* (The People)

Sheet: 25 1/2 x 18 1/2 in.

(64.8 x 47 cm)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

127 (illustration p. 168)

Käthe Kollwitz

Nie wieder Krieg (War Nevermore), 1924

Lithograph

37 x 27 9/16 in. (94 x 70 cm)

Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Richard A. Simms

128 (illustration p. 168)

Käthe Kollwitz

Turm der Mütter (Tower of Mothers), 1937-38 / cast later

Bronze

10 5/8 x 10 7/8 x 11 in.

(27 x 27.5 x 28 cm)

The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills

129
Bernhard Kretschmar
Untitled (Birth)
Oil on canvas
35³/₄ x 21⁵/₈ in. (89.5 x 55 cm)
Kunsthalle Rostock, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 76)

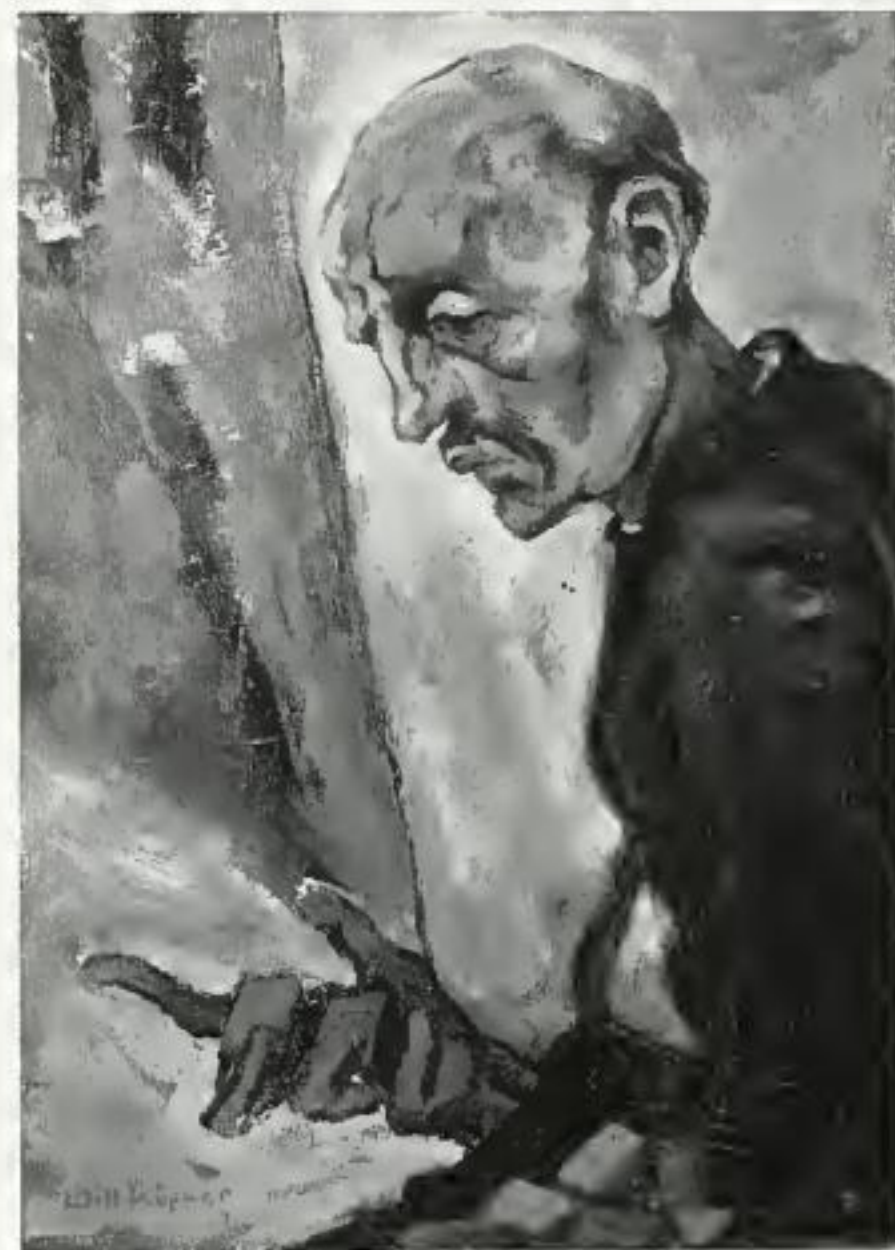


129

130
Will Küpper
Nach dem Krieg (After the War), 1919
Oil on canvas
27⁹/₁₆ x 21⁵/₈ in. (70 x 55 cm)
Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 27)



130



131



138



139



132



133



134



135



136



137

132
Otto Lange
Christuskopf (Head of Christ),
1916
Color woodcut
14 x 9¹/₂ in. (35.6 x 24.2 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt,
Collection Walther Groz, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 34)

133
Otto Lange
Kreuzigung I (Crucifixion I),
1916
Color woodcut
14¹/₈ x 9¹/₂ in. (35.8 x 24.2 cm)
Städtische Galerie Albstadt, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 64)

134
Otto Lange
Kreuzabnahme (The
Deposition from the Cross),
1916
Color woodcut
14¹/₈ x 9¹/₂ in. (35.8 x 24.2 cm)
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
Altenburg, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 34)

135
Otto Lange
Geisselung Christi
(Flagellation of Christ), 1917
Color woodcut
24¹/₈ x 16⁷/₁₆ in. (61.3 x 41.8 cm)
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
Altenburg, GDR
(also illustrated in color on p. 34)

136
Otto Lange
Verspottung Christi (The
Mocking of Christ), 1919
Color woodcut
Image: 20⁵/₈ x 18³/₁₆ in.
(52.4 x 46.2 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
German Expressionist Studies
(also illustrated in color on p. 34)

137
Werner Lange
Frauenporträt (Portrait of a
Woman), 1919
Oil on canvas
21⁵/₈ x 15³/₁₆ in. (55 x 38.5 cm)
Schleswig-Holsteinisches
Landesmuseum, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 103)

138 (illustration p. 170)
Carl Lohse
Monumentaler Kopf
(Monumental Head), 1919-20
Plaster
H: 29¹⁵/₁₆ in. (76 cm)
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, GDR

139 (illustration p. 170)
Carl Lohse
Bildnis Buschbeck (Fabrikant)
(Portrait of Buschbeck [Factory
Owner]), c. 1920
Oil on paper
27⁹/₁₆ x 20¹/₄ in. (70 x 51.5 cm)
Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,
Altenburg, GDR

140
Ludwig Meidner
Apokalyptische Landschaft
(Apocalyptic Landscape), 1913
verso: *Bildnis Willi Zierath*
(Portrait of Willi Zierath), 1913
Oil on canvas
31⁷/₈ x 37¹/₁₆ in. (81 x 94.5 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, gift of Mr. Clifford Odets
(also illustrated in color on p. 38)



141

141
Ludwig Meidner
*Bildnis des Dichters Johannes
R. Becher* (Portrait of the Poet
Johannes R. Becher), 1916
Oil on canvas
25⁹/₁₆ x 24 in. (65 x 61 cm)
Akademie der Künste der
Deutschen Demokratischen
Republik, Berlin, GDR



142

142
Ludwig Meidner
Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait),
1923
Oil on canvas
23¹/₄ x 18¹/₂ in. (59.1 x 47 cm)
Marvin and Janet Fishman,
Milwaukee
(also illustrated in color on p. 40)



140

143
Moriz Melzer
Brücke-Stadt (Bridge Town),
1923
Oil on canvas
51⁹/₁₆ x 38¹¹/₁₆ in. (131 x 98.3 cm)
Berlin Museum, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 49)



143



145a



145b



144a



144b



144c



144d



144e



144f

144
Constantin von Mitschke-Collande
Der begeisterte Weg (The Inspired Way), 1919
Portfolio of 6 woodcuts
a) *Der begeisterte Weg* (The Inspired Way)
b) *Da habt ihr mich* (Here You Have Me)
c) *Freiheit* (Freedom)
d) *Du hast deinen Bruder getötet* (You Have Killed Your Brother)
e) *Steh auf und verkünde die Liebe, Erwecker* (Get Up and Proclaim Love, Awakened One)
f) *Die Zeit ist reif* (The Time Is Ripe)
Images: 13 1/2 x 11 3/4 in. (34.3 x 29.8 cm), each slightly irregular
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies

145 (illustrations p. 172)
Constantin von Mitschke-Collande
Die Tiere der Insel (The Animals of the Island), 1923
Book with 11 color woodcuts
a) *Untitled* (Nude Man with Animals)
4 3/8 x 3 1/8 in. (11.1 x 8.0 cm)
b) *Untitled* (Fish)
4 5/16 x 3 1/8 in. (11.0 x 8.0 cm)
Book: 9 x 7 in. (22.9 x 17.8 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds
(also illustrated in color on p. 63)

- 146
Otto Möller
Boot mit gelbem Segel (Boat with Yellow Sail), 1921
Oil on canvas
27¹⁵/₁₆ x 19⁷/₈ in. (71 x 50.5 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E. Worrell, Jr.
(also illustrated in color on p. 53)



146

- 147
Otto Möller
Sancho Panza, 1922
Oil on canvas
27¹/₄ x 19⁷/₈ in. (70.5 x 50.5 cm)
Barry Friedman Ltd., New York



147

- 148
Johannes Molzahn
Energie entspannt (Energy at Rest), 1919
Oil on canvas
27³/₁₆ x 26³/₄ in. (69 x 68 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, promised gift of James and Ilene Nathan
(also illustrated in color on p. 116)



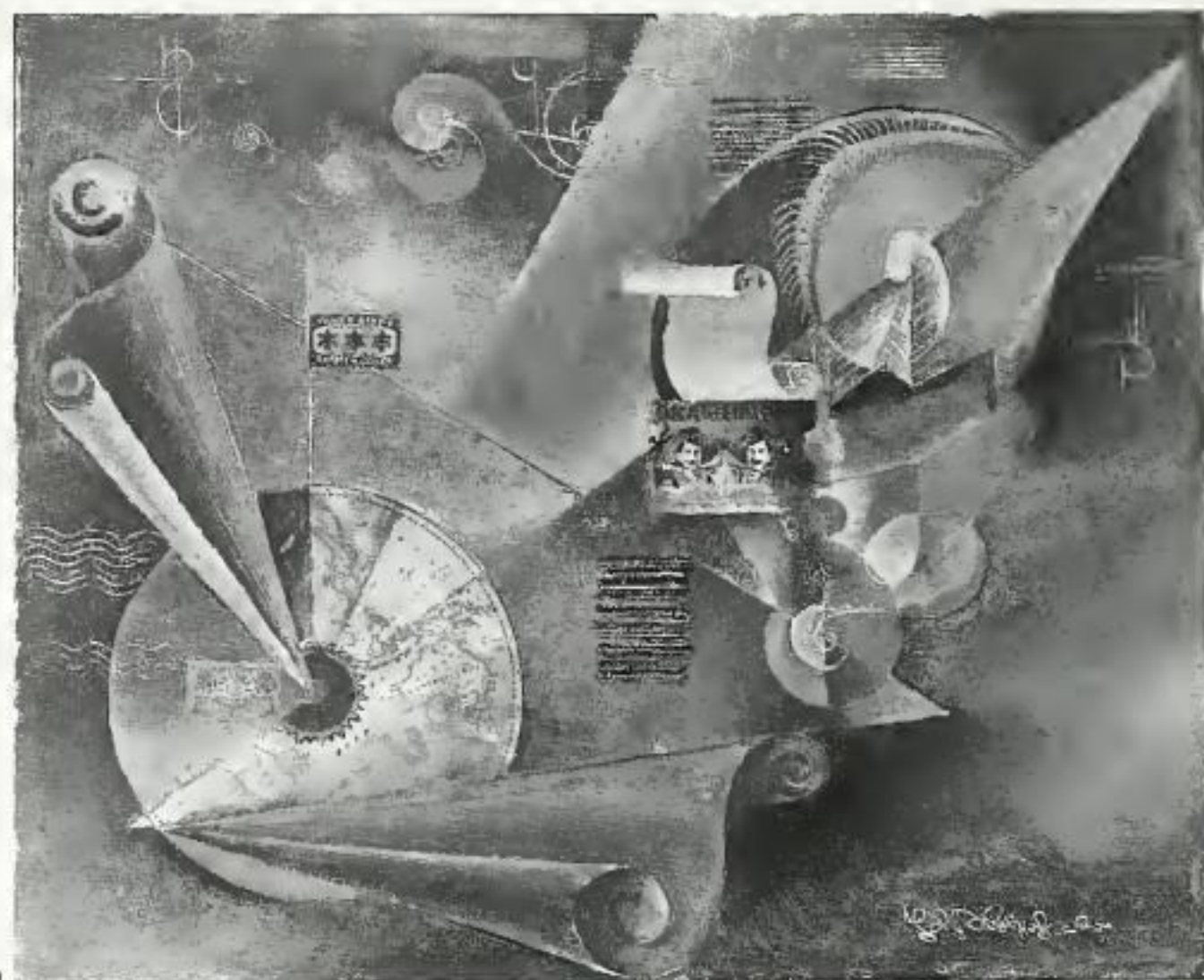
148

- 149
Johannes Molzahn
Frauenmond II (Women's Moon II), 1920
Oil on canvas
30¹³/₁₆ x 33 in. (78.3 x 83.7 cm)
Private collection, on loan to the Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg, FRG



149

- 150
Johannes Molzahn
Neues Land (New Land), 1920
Oil and collage on canvas
23³/₈ x 28¹/₄ in. (59.3 x 71.8 cm)
Sammlung und Archiv für Künstler der Breslauer Akademie, Kassel-Wahlershausen, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 35)



150



151



153

151
Heinrich Nauen
Bildnis Christian Rohlf
(Portrait of Christian Rohlf),
1919
Oil on canvas
37³/₈ x 29³/₈ in. (95 x 74.6 cm)
Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum,
Hagen, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 113)

152
Heinrich Nauen
Der Cellospieler Polly Heckmann
(The Cello Player Polly Heckmann), 1919
Oil on canvas
58¹/₁₆ x 39³/₄ in. (149 x 101 cm)
Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn,
FRG

153
Heinrich Nauen
Bildnis Wollheim (Portrait of
Wollheim), 1924
Tempera on paper on canvas
77⁹/₁₆ x 38³/₁₆ in. (197 x 97 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 105)

154
Otto Pankok
Das Ey, 1920
Volumes 1-2
Periodicals with woodcuts
12³/₈ x 9⁷/₁₆ in. (31.5 x 24 cm) each
Galerie Remmert & Barth,
Düsseldorf, FRG



152



154a



154b

155
Otto Pankok
Abendlicher Kopf (Evening Head), 1921
Etching
23¹/₂ x 19⁵/₁₆ in. (59.7 x 49 cm)
Otto Pankok Museum, Hunxe-
Drevenack, FRG



155

156
Otto Pankok
Strassenecke (Street Corner), 1921
Etching
13³/₈ x 12⁵/₈ in. (34 x 32 cm)
Otto Pankok Museum, Hunxe-
Drevenack, FRG



156



157

157
Otto Pankok
Mühle II (Mill II), 1922
Etching
17¹/₁₆ x 13³/₄ in. (45.5 x 35 cm)
Otto Pankok Museum, Hunxe-
Drevenack, FRG



158

158
Otto Pankok
New York, 1922
Etching
18¹/₁₆ x 20 in. (47.5 x 50.8 cm)
Otto Pankok Museum, Hunxe-
Drevenack, FRG



159

159
Otto Pankok
Krähen (Crows), 1926
Etching
19⁷/₈ x 25 in. (50.5 x 63.5 cm)
Otto Pankok Museum, Hunxe-
Drevenack, FRG



160

160
Max Pechstein
An alle Künstler! (To All Artists!), 1919
Color lithograph
7⁷/₈ x 5¹/₂ in. (20 x 14 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds



163

161
Max Pechstein
Erwürgt nicht die junge Freiheit (Don't Strangle Our Newborn Freedom), c. 1919
Poster, lithograph
Image: 38¹/₄ x 25⁹/₁₆ in. (97.1 x 64.9 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on p. 25)



161

162
Max Pechstein
An die Laterne (To the Lamppost), 1919
Poster, lithograph
Image: 27 x 36¹/₄ in. (68.6 x 92.1 cm), irregular
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on p. 25)



162



164a



164b



164c



164d



164e



164f



164g



164h



164i



164j



164k



164l

163 (illustration p. 176)
Max Pechstein
Selbstbildnis mit Tod (Self-Portrait with Death), 1920-21
Oil on canvas
31 1/2 x 27 9/16 in. (80 x 70 cm)
Private collection, on loan to the
Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie
Regensburg, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 47)

164
Max Pechstein
Das Vater Unser (The Lord's Prayer), 1921
Portfolio of 12 woodcuts, hand colored by the artist
a) *Das Vater Unser, Holzschnitte von H. M. Pechstein* (The Lord's Prayer, Woodcuts by H. M. Pechstein)
b) *Vater Unser / Der Du bist im Himmel* (Our Father, Who Art in Heaven)
c) *Geheiligt werde / Dein Name* (Hallowed Be Thy Name)
d) *Dein Reich komme / Dein Wille geschehe / Wie im Himmel also auch auf Erden* (Thy Kingdom Come, Thy Will Be Done, on Earth as It Is in Heaven)
e) *Unser täglich Brot / gieb uns heute* (Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread)
f) *und vergieb uns / unsere Schuld* (And forgive us our trespasses)
g) *Wie wir vergeben / unsern Schuldigern* (As we forgive those who trespass against us)
h) *und führe uns nicht in Versuchung* (And lead us not into temptation)
i) *Sondern erlöse uns / von dem Übel* (But deliver us from evil)
j) *Denn dein ist das Reich* (For thine is the kingdom)
k) *Und die Kraft / und die Herrlichkeit* (And the power and the glory)
l) *von Ewigkeit / zu Ewigkeit / Amen* (For ever and ever, Amen)
Sheet: 23 1/2 x 16 3/8 in. (59.7 x 41.6 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Robert Gore Riskind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds
(Los Angeles only)
(also illustrated in color on p. 32)

165
 Wilhelm Plünnecke
Hannoversche Sezession
 (Hanover Secession), 1918
 Poster, lithograph
 Image: 22 x 14¹¹/₁₆ in.
 (55.9 x 37.9 cm)
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Foundation, Beverly Hills

166
 Hans Poelzig
Modell für eine Wegkapelle
 (Model for a Way Chapel), 1921
 Plaster
 16¹/₈ x 13³/₁₆ x 9¹³/₁₆ in.
 (41 x 33.5 x 25 cm)
 Badisches Landesmuseum,
 Karlsruhe, FRG
 (Los Angeles, Dusseldorf and Halle
 only)

167
 Anton Räderscheidt
Lebendige (The Living), 1919
 (see Cat. 1)

168
 Christian Rohlf
Der Gefangene (The Prisoner),
 1918
 Woodcut
 24¹/₈ x 18¹/₈ in. (61.2 x 46.6 cm)
 Los Angeles County Museum of
 Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
 German Expressionist Studies

169
 Wilhelm Rudolph
Helft am Werk der IAH (Help
 the Work of the IAH), 1924
 Woodcut
 27⁹/₁₆ x 19¹¹/₁₆ in. (70 x 50 cm)
 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
 Dresden, GDR

170 (not illustrated)
 Hans Scharoun
Durchdringung der Form
 (Penetration of Form), n.d.
 Watercolor
 14⁷/₈ x 10⁷/₈ in. (37.8 x 27.6 cm)
 Akademie der Künste, Sammlung
 Baukunst, Berlin, FRG
 (Halle only)

171
 Hans Scharoun
Stadtwerden (Transformation
 of the City), n.d.
 Watercolor, PA 37
 14⁷/₈ x 10⁷/₈ in. (37.8 x 27.6 cm)
 Akademie der Künste, Sammlung
 Baukunst, Berlin, FRG
 (Los Angeles only)

172 (not illustrated)
 Hans Scharoun
Untitled, n.d.
 Watercolor
 13⁹/₁₆ x 10³/₈ in. (34.5 x 26.4 cm)
 Akademie der Künste, Sammlung
 Baukunst, Berlin, FRG
 (Dusseldorf only)



168



165



169



166



171



175



176a



176b



176c

173 (not illustrated)
Hans Scharoun
Untitled, n. d.
Watercolor
12 x 10¹/₁₆ in. (30.5 x 25.5 cm)
Akademie der Künste, Sammlung
Baukunst, Berlin, FRG
(Dusseldorf only)

174 (not illustrated)
Hans Scharoun
Untitled, n. d.
Watercolor
12 x 10¹/₁₆ in. (30.5 x 25.5 cm)
Akademie der Künste, Sammlung
Baukunst, Berlin, FRG
(Halle only)

175 (illustration p. 178)
Hans Scharoun
Untitled, n. d.
Watercolor
18¹/₁₆ x 14³/₁₆ in. (47.5 x 36 cm)
Akademie der Künste, Sammlung
Baukunst, Berlin, FRG
(Los Angeles only)



176d



176e

176
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
9 Holzschnitte (Christus)
(9 Woodcuts [Christ]), 1918
Portfolio of 10 woodcuts
a) 9 Holzschnitte (9 Woodcuts)
b) *Kuss in Liebe* (Kiss in Love)
c) *Kristus* (Christ)
d) *Gang nach Emmaus* (The Way to Emmaus)
e) *Petri Fischzug* (Peter's Catch of Fish)
f) *Kristus und die Ehebrecherin* (Christ and the Adulteress)
g) *Kristus und Judas* (Christ and Judas)
h) *Kristus flucht dem Feigenbaum* (Christ Curses the Fig Tree)
i) *Maria* (Mary)
j) *Jünger* (Disciple)
Sheet: 19¹/₁₆ x 15³/₈ in.
(50 x 39.1 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of Kurt Wolff
(Los Angeles only)



176f



176g



176h



176i



176j

177

Karl Schmidt-Rottluff
Reichswappen [Imperial Coat
 of Arms], 1919

Woodcut

Image: $19\frac{11}{16} \times 15\frac{11}{16}$ in.

(50 x 39.8 cm)

Los Angeles County Museum of
 Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
 German Expressionist Studies



177

178

Otto Schubert

Das Leiden der Pferde im Krieg
 [The Suffering of Horses in the
 War], c. 1917

Portfolio of 12 lithographs

a) Plate 1: *Arbeit* [Labor]

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{3}{8}$ in. (24.7 x 39.1 cm)

b) Plate 2: *Hunger* [Hunger]

$11\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$ in. (29.2 x 41.2 cm)

c) Plate 6: *Angst* [Fear]

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26.7 x 43.7 cm)

d) Plate 8: *Im Granatfeuer* [Under
 Shell Fire]

$12\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{7}{8}$ in. (31.8 x 40.3 cm)

e) Plate 11: *Verwundet* [Wounded]

$9\frac{9}{16} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24.3 x 44.5 cm)

Sheet: $21\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ in. (55.2 x 38.1 cm)

Los Angeles County Museum of
 Art, Robert Gore Rifkind Center for
 German Expressionist Studies



178a



178b



178c

179

Otto Schubert

Der heilige Sebastian
 [St. Sebastian], c. 1918

Oil on canvas

$34\frac{13}{16} \times 25$ in. (88.5 x 63.5 cm)

Kunsthalle Rostock, GDR

(also illustrated in color on p. 66)



178d



178e

180

Otto Schubert

Strassenkreuzung bei Ypern
 [Crossroads at Ypres], c. 1918

Drawing on paper

$10\frac{3}{8} \times 14\frac{7}{8}$ in. (26.3 x 37.8 cm)

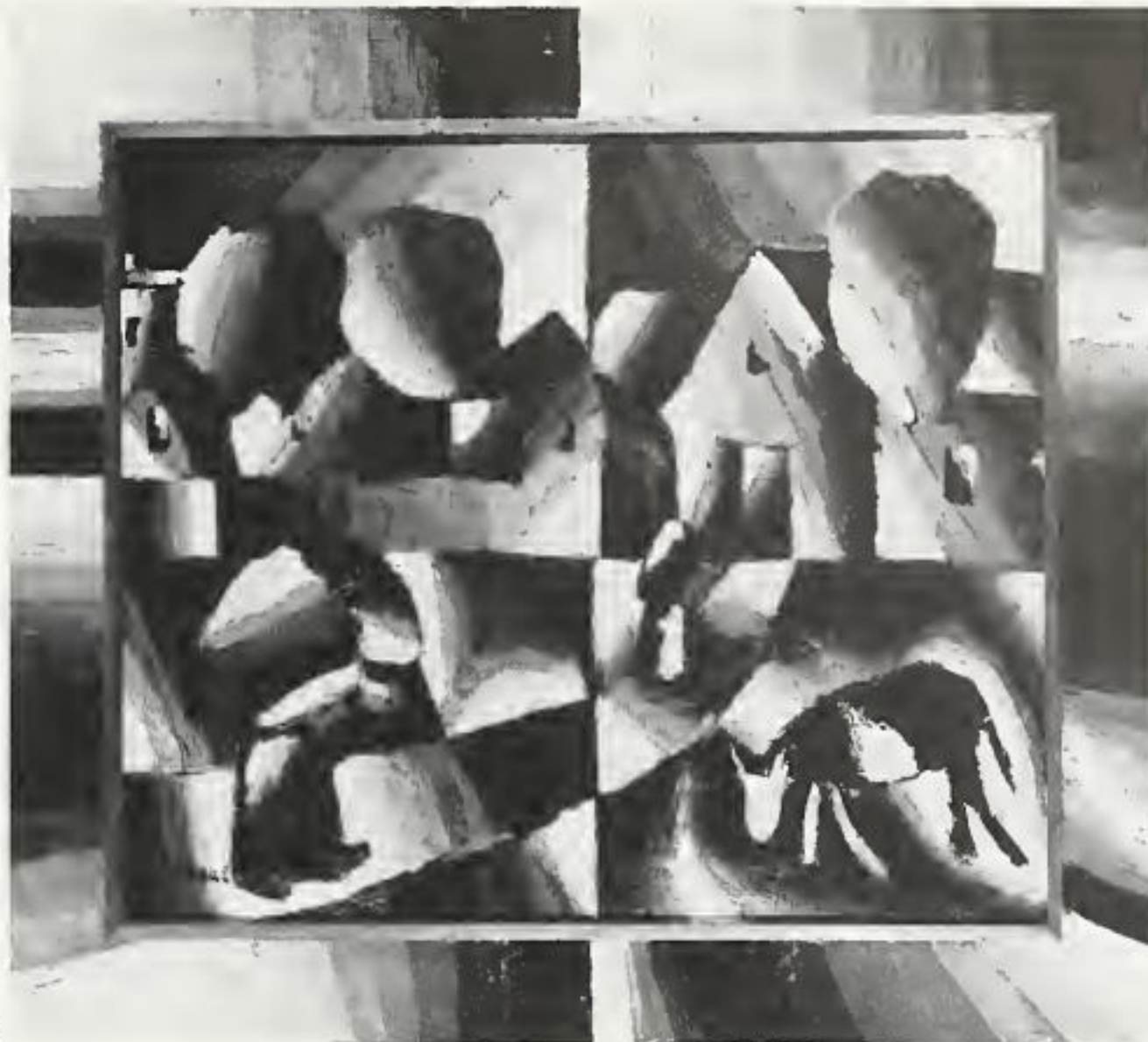
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
 Dresden, GDR



179



180



181

181
Arthur Segal
Die Lastträgerinnen (Women Porters), 1919
Oil on cardboard
18¹/₈ x 22¹/₄ in. (46 x 56.5 cm)
Private collection, FRG

182
Arthur Segal
Künstlers Erdenwallen (The Artist's Earthly Pilgrimage), 1921
Oil on canvas
29¹⁵/₁₆ x 37¹³/₁₆ in. (76 x 96 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG

183
Arthur Segal
Drei Figuren (Three Figures), 1922
Oil on canvas
51¹/₁₆ x 66¹⁵/₁₆ in. (130 x 170 cm)
Private collection, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 52)

184
Arthur Segal
Helgoland, 1923
Oil on canvas
39³/₄ x 51¹/₁₆ in. (101 x 130 cm)
Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, FRG

185
Franz Wilhelm Seiwert
Lebendige (The Living), 1919
(see Cat. 1)



182



183



184

186
 Franz Wilhelm Seiwert
IAH (Hunger in Deutschland)
 (IAH [Hunger in Germany]),
 1924
 Oil on canvas
 19¹¹/₁₆ x 25³/₈ in. (50 x 64.5 cm)
 Private collection, FRG



186

187
 Fritz Stuckenberg
Hitze (Heat), 1919
 Oil on canvas
 25⁹/₁₆ x 21¹/₄ in. (65 x 54 cm)
 Private collection, FRG

188
 Fritz Stuckenberg
Mutter und Kind (Mother and Child), 1920
 Oil on canvas
 21¹/₈ x 19 in. (53.7 x 48.2 cm)
 Yale University Art Gallery, gift of
 the Société Anonyme

189
 Georg Tappert
Dame im Café (Woman in a Café), 1917
 Oil on canvas
 32¹/₁₆ x 29¹⁵/₁₆ in. (82 x 76 cm)
 Marvin and Janet Fishman,
 Milwaukee



187

190
 Georg Tappert
Alte Chansonette (Old Chansonette), 1920
 Oil on canvas
 25³/₁₆ x 21¹/₈ in. (64 x 55 cm)
 Private collection, FRG
 [also illustrated in color on p. 48]



189



188



190



191a



191b



191c

191
Adolf Uzarski
Der Totentanz (The Dance of Death), 1916-17
Portfolio of 12 lithographs
a) *Hunger* (Hunger)
b) *Lazarett* (Military Hospital)
c) *Der Sieger* (Victor)
d) *Posten* (Guard)
e) *Der Fliegertod* (Death of the Pilot)
f) *Die Mine* (Mine)
g) *Revolution* (Revolution)
h) *Pioniere* (Sappers)
i) *Volltreffer* (Direct Hit)
j) *Rückzug* (Retreat)
k) *Gasangriff* (Gas Attack)
l) *Maschinengewehr* (Machine-gun)
12³/₁₆ x 16⁷/₈ in. (31 x 41 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG



191d



191e



191f



191g



191h



191i



191j



191k



191l

192
Karl Völker
Pietà, 1918
Oil on paper
21⁵/₈ x 26 in. (55 x 66 cm)
Richard Horn, Halle, GDR



192

193
Karl Völker
Umbruch [Upheaval], 1918
Oil on canvas
31¹/₂ x 20⁷/₈ in. (80 x 53 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg,
Halle, GDR
[also illustrated in color on p. 102]



193

194
Christoph Voll
Arbeiter mit Kind [Worker
with Child], c. 1922
Oak
H: 31¹/₈ in. (79 cm)
Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart, FRG
[Dusseldorf and Halle only]



194

195
Christoph Voll
Arbeiterfrau mit Kind
[Working Woman with Child],
1923
Oak
H: 35⁷/₁₆ in. (90 cm)
Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart, FRG
[Dusseldorf and Halle only]

196
Christoph Voll
Ecce Homo, 1924-25
Oak
64³/₄ x 14³/₄ x 19¹/₁₆ in.
[164.5 x 37.5 x 50 cm]
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Collection, Beverly Hills
[Los Angeles only]
[also illustrated in color on p. 59]



195



196



197



199

197
William Wauer
Herwarth Walden, 1917, cast
after 1945
Bronze
H: 20⁷/₈ in. (53 cm)
Tabachnick Collection, Canada

198
William Wauer
Albert Basserman, 1918
Bronze
20¹/₈ x 7³/₈ x 7¹/₂ in.
(51.1 x 18.7 x 19 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Foundation, Beverly Hills

199
William Wauer
Bildnis Herwarth Walden
(Portrait of Herwarth Walden),
1921
Oil on canvas
25⁹/₁₆ x 19¹¹/₁₆ in. (65 x 50 cm)
Private collection, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 42)

200
Gert Wollheim
Der Verwundete (The
Wounded Man), 1919
Oil on wood
61⁷/₁₆ x 70¹/₁₆ in. (156 x 178 cm)
Private collection, Berlin, FRG
(also illustrated in color on p. 80)

201
Gert Wollheim
Männerkopf (Head of a Man),
c. 1920
Oil on canvas
24 x 24 in. (61 x 61 cm)
The Robert Gore Rifkind
Collection, Beverly Hills
(also illustrated in color on p. 106)



198



201



200

202
Gert Wollheim
Der Verurteilte (The
Condemned Man), 1921
Oil on canvas
48⁷/₁₆ x 39 in. (123 x 99 cm)
Private collection, Berlin, FRG
[also illustrated in color on p. 87]



202

203
Gert Wollheim
Abschied von Düsseldorf
(Farewell from Düsseldorf),
1924
Oil on canvas
63 x 72³/₁₆ in. (160 x 185 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG
[also illustrated in color on p. 95]



204

204
Gert Wollheim
Selbstbildnis in der Dachstube
(Self-Portrait in the Garret),
1924
Oil on canvas
50¹³/₁₆ x 36¹/₄ in. (129 x 92 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, FRG

205
Fritz Zalisz
Selbstbildnis
(Self-Portrait), n. d.
Oil on canvas
32⁵/₁₆ x 20¹⁷/₁₆ in. (82 x 52.5 cm)
Museum der bildenden Künste,
Leipzig, GDR



203

206 (illustration p. 187)
Magnus Zeller
Der Redner (The Orator),
1919-20
Oil on canvas
59 x 79¹/₈ in. (150.5 x 200 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, purchased with funds provided
by Charles K. Feldman
[also illustrated in color on p. 54]

207 (illustration p. 187)
Magnus Zeller
Volksredner (Public Speaker),
1920
Plate 1 of a portfolio of 7 lithographs
Image: 12¹³/₁₆ x 14 in.
(32.6 x 35.6 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, gift of Janet and Marvin
Fishman

208
Magnus Zeller
Zeher (Drunkards), 1920
Oil on canvas
51³/₁₆ x 33⁷/₁₆ in. (130 x 85 cm)
Staatliche Galerie Montzberg,
Halle, GDR



208

205



206



207

209

Anonymous
So führt Euch Spartakus!
 (That's How Spartacus Leads
 You!), c. 1919
 Poster, lithograph
 Image: 36 x 26¹⁵/₁₆ in.
 (91.4 x 68.5 cm), irregular
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Collection, Beverly Hills
 (also illustrated in color on p. 23)

210

Anonymous
Freie Secession (Free Secession)
 c. 1923
 Poster, lithograph
 Image: 24³/₁₆ x 18³/₁₆ in.
 (61.4 x 46.2 cm), irregular
 The Robert Gore Rifkind
 Foundation, Beverly Hills



209



210

Periodicals

A selection of German periodicals containing original graphics will be included at each exhibition venue.

BERLIN

Das junge Deutschland: Monatsschrift für Theater und Literatur. Ed. Franz Pfemfert. 1918-21.
Das Kunstblatt. Ed. Paul Westheim. 1917-33.
Das Neue Pathos. Eds. Hans Ehrenbaum-Degele, Robert R. Schmidt, Paul Zech. 1913-20.
Der Sturm. Ed. Herwarth Walden. 1910-32.
Die Aktion: Wochenschrift für Freiheitliche Politik und Literatur. Ed. Erich Reiss. 1911-32.

Neue Jugend: Monatsschrift. Eds. Heinz Barger, Wieland Herzfelde. 1916-17.

DARMSTADT

Das Tribunal: Hessische radikale Blätter. Ed. Carlo Mierendorff. 1919-21.
Die Dachstube. Ed. F. C. Lehr, Joseph Würth. 1915-18.

DRESDEN

Menschen. Eds. Felix Stierner, Heinar Schilling, Walter Hasenclever, Iwan Goll. 1918-21.

Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung. Ed. Hugo Zehder. 1918-21.
Sezession Gruppe 1919. Ed. E. Richter 1919.

DUSSELDORF

Das Buch des Aktivistenbundes. Eds. Gert Wollheim, et al. 1919-20.
Das Ey. Ed. Otto Pankok. 1920.
Das junge Rheinland. Ed. Gert Wollheim. 1921-22.
Das Kunstfenster. Ed. Karl Roettger. 1920.
Der Querschnitt. Eds. Wilhelm Graf Kielmannsegg, Alfred Flechtheim, Hermann von Wedderkop. 1921-36.

Die Rote Erde: Monatsschrift für Kunst und Kultur. Eds. Karl Lorenz, Paul Schwemer, Rosa Schapire. 1919-23.

HAMBURG

Kräfte: Zeitschrift für Dichtung, Musik, bildende Kunst. Eds. Kinner von Dresler, V. Fischer. 1919.

Kündigung: Eine Zeitschrift für Kunst. Eds. Wilhelm Niemeyer, Rosa Schapire. 1921.

HANOVER

Das Hohe Ufer. Ed. Hans Kaiser. 1919-20.
Der Zweemann: Monatsblätter für Dichtung und Kunst. Eds. Friedrich W. Wagner, Hans Schiebelhuth, Christof Spengemann. 1919-20.

KIEL

Der Schwarze Turm. 1919-20.
Die Schöne Rarität. Eds. Adolf Harms, Georg Tappert, G. Ausleger. 1917-19.

MAGDEBURG

Die Kugel. Eds. Robert Seitz, Franz Jahn Bartels. 1919-20.

MUNICH

Der Sichel: Monatsschrift für Neue Kunst und Graphik. Eds. Josef Achmann, Georg Britting. Regensburg, then Munich, 1919-21.
Der Weg. Eds. Walther Blume, Hans Theodor Joel, E. Trautner. 1919.

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